

# THE AMERICAN



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## WEEKLY NOTES.

THE Republicans have won in the struggle for the organization of the Senate, but we could have wished them a more honorable victory. Mr. MAHONE of Virginia, having cut loose from all allegiance to the Democratic party and gone over to the Republicans, creates a tie in the body, which the casting vote of Vice-President ARTHUR will decide in favor of the Republicans. As a matter of course, the Democrats were very sore over this desertion, and expressed it in language as strong as the courtesies of the Senate allowed. At this, some Republican papers, as well as some Republican Senators, profess to be very indignant, and undertake to shield Mr. MAHONE, poor lamb! from these injurious aspersions. The plain truth is that Mr. MAHONE was elected to the Senate by Democrats and as a Democrat, and never professed to be anything else until this debate. It is true that he needed and received some Republican votes; but these were given him for a price which was paid, and that bargain was closed. His faction of the party endorsed the nomination of General Hancock, and put before the people a list of electors pledged to vote for him. It is not so long since these very newspapers and Senators would have resented as slanderous the insinuation that they had any affiliation with Mr. MAHONE or he with them, and would have used language as strong as that employed in this debate by Senator HILL and other Southerners. It is true that Mr. HILL, with his unhappy record in the Secession business, should not have put himself forward in the matter; but the plea "you're another" is of no force outside a boys' play-ground. As regards Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, that retort is not even true. Mr. DAVIS was elected under circumstances which left him free to vote with either party, as he pleased. He has not, like Mr. MAHONE, deliberately betrayed a political trust.

It is humiliating to find in such papers as *The Tribune* and *The Times* of New York, whole columns of sophistry in defence of Mr. MAHONE's action and in praise of the man, for whom both of these papers could hardly find things bitter enough to say; and it is still more so to be told that on his desk next morning stood a basket of flowers from the White House conservatory, sent with Mr. GARFIELD's compliments.

THE President and his advisers have reached a very sound conclusion as regards the abandoned circulation of the National Banks. When it was found that the Funding Bill was not to become a law, there was a very natural desire to secure a restoration of the \$19,000,000 of legal tenders which had been deposited with the Treasury to secure the possession of bonds represented by that amount of bank notes now in circulation. It is true that the law allows these banks to deposit their bonds once more, and to obtain new bank notes to ninety per cent. of their value. But this involves the trouble of signing the notes before they are put into circulation, and the banks naturally preferred to resume the responsibility of their notes still in circulation, and to take back the legal tenders deposited for their redemption. In this particular case the banks might plead that they acted under the threat of legislation which involved a virtual breach of faith. But even if this plea had been admitted, to give them back the legal tenders would have been to set a very dangerous precedent for the future. It would have added to the facilities, already too great, for speculat-

ing in Government bonds at the expense of a needless and inconvenient curtailment of our paper money. And, besides, the Government has the right to expect of these corporations that they shall always believe in the honesty of its intentions, and its power to execute them. The decision reached is not only law,—it is justice and common sense.

WE regret to see that Mr. GARFIELD has renewed the nomination of Mr. STANLEY MATTHEWS for a place on the Supreme Bench. We do not think that Mr. MATTHEWS is a fit man for that post of great responsibility; and whatever Mr. GARFIELD's personal opinion, we should have expected that the decided and general opposition to the nomination would have deterred him from this step. That he has again sent Mr. MATTHEWS's name to the Senate, either shows that he has been following the lead merely of Ohio opinion, or that he does not hesitate to act on his own convictions of duty, at the risk of opening his administration with a bitter and unpleasant controversy. That the nomination will be defeated, we see no reason to hope. Now that Mr. SHERMAN takes Mr. THURMAN's place, it will have a support which it had not before, when Mr. CONKLING and his friends dare not allow it to be even reported adversely from the Judiciary Committee. And as matters now stand, the Democratic half of the Senate are much more likely to support it than they were before. They would far sooner do Mr. CONKLING a dis-service, than do Mr. GARFIELD one.

NEXT to Mr. JAMES's nomination as Postmaster-General, comes the appointment of his chief assistant to fill his place. No one else was even named for it, as it was universally recognized that no other was so fit. If it were known as a tradition of the Civil Service, even without being enacted as a law, that this principle of promotion would be applied wherever it was applicable, we should at once have a reformed Civil Service. But we have seen change after change as to the head of another great post-office, while the assistant, who does the most responsible part of the work, still retains the second place.

We are glad to see it announced, on what appears to be good authority, that Mr. GARFIELD intends to make as few removals as possible. That, without any rubbish of entrance examinations, is the kind of reform that the country needs. Civil Service Reformers say they want to see the Government service managed "on business principles." But no business man, or corporation of men, holds competitive examinations in order to get at the best man. What would be the effect on the market price of the stocks and bonds of the Pennsylvania Railroad, if Mr. ROBERTS were to announce that for the future all applicants for places on the road would be subjected to a competitive examination, and that those who passed the best would get the places? Would it not be felt that the directors of the road had abdicated one of the most important of the functions of the employers of labor, and had tried to put a mechanical test in place of the personal examination of the man himself by some chief of a department? As a business man puts it: "I can tell more by a look at the man's eye, than I could from examination papers."

The New York *Times* still ignores our question as to its net estimate of Collector MERRITT. But it defends the examinations on the ground

that they are not such as require information above the average. We said they either did so, or they amounted to nothing. It now seems that they secure neither honesty, capacity, nor exceptional information. They are like the Marchioness's lemonade: they require one to "make believe a good deal," to be of any efficacy.

THE movement among a knot of Republicans in Massachusetts to give Mr. SCHURZ a public dinner, in testimony of their approval of his treatment of the Poncas, is a curious instance of the power of partisan prejudice in blinding the judgment. There is probably not a man on the list of signers who does not regret that the Secretary has laid himself open to such charges as have been made; but even Independents must preserve party discipline and shout all together when a leader like Mr. SCHURZ is assailed. Party spirit is able to blind not only ordinary partisans, but those who form groups and schools in opposition to mere partisanship. Just so, the most intensely sectarian Christians are those whose organization aims at putting down all sects.

That Massachusetts is not all of one mind about Mr. SCHURZ, is evidenced by the offer of a public dinner to Mr. HOAR and Mr. DAWES, from men who desire to testify their gratification at their course in this Ponca matter. There are not so many of the literary set in the second list, but the solid people of the Commonwealth are abundantly represented. The Governor, all but one of the Executive Council, the Speakers of both branches of the Legislature, and a great number of well-known business men and others,—RUSSELL STURGIS, JR. and WENDELL PHILLIPS included,—unite in declaring that their Senators have really represented the feeling of the State. Of the general composition of the two lists, it is not too much to say that the latter mainly represents the element which the rest of the country regard as sensible and practical men, while the former contains chiefly the *doctrinaire* element which is so potent in the Bay State.

OUR Democratic friends have been having a large but select dinner-party in New York to indicate the future policy of the party. Mr. ENGLISH and some others were not invited, but General HANCOCK was present. Nothing was said of the asininity displayed in the conduct of the campaign, culminating in the MOREY letter. But a great deal was said about the JEFFERSONIAN principles of the party as furnishing all the platform needed for its future. It is curious to observe with what pathos the Democrats always revert to the doctrines of THOMAS JEFFERSON after a defeat. They seem to regard the proceeding as a sort of political repentance and amendment, for which they deserve the utmost credit from the nation. We believe the country has got past the point at which public opinion can be decisively influenced in this way. We presume that JEFFERSONIAN principles are those embodied in the resolutions which THOMAS JEFFERSON drew up for the Kentucky Legislature in 1798, and which that body adopted. Those say that the Constitution is a compact in which the Federal Government is of the one part and the States of the other, and that each party must be judge of infractions of the agreement, and of the mode and measure of redress. Do our Democratic friends mean that they intend to put that doctrine in JEFFERSON'S words into their next national platform? If they do, they will repent it more than they did their "Tariff for Revenue only." The truth is, that JEFFERSON'S State Rights doctrines were a survival of colonial jealousy, which the nation has completely outgrown. There is a Red Sea between this generation and those which listened to them with complacency. And a party which wished to be buried beyond hopes of resurrection, could take no shorter road to that than to re-enact the "Resolutions of 1798."

MR. FRANK HURD, relying on the old saying that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," is going to do for the

whole nation what he could not do for a single Congressional district of Ohio. He is going to convert the American people to Free Trade. His Free Trade League, organized in Washington among the Democratic Congressmen, is to be made a national institution, somewhat after the model of the Irish Land League, with Mr. HURD as its PARNELL. The new league, as might be expected, is to start from New York as headquarters, that being the only genuine centre of Free Trade feeling on this continent. We do not look for any remarkable success in this undertaking. We have too much confidence in the solid good sense of the American people, and in their appreciation of the reasons on which our national policy rests. And this confidence has been greatly confirmed by the results of the last national campaign. The only danger is that the united efforts of the Free Trade faction may have the effect of sophisticating a number of those voters, especially in the agricultural districts, who have not given much thought to the matter. Against this danger the Protectionists should be upon their guard. They should appreciate the fact that there are large bodies of Americans to whom this question does not come home as directly as to themselves and their workmen, and who are liable to be misled by specious falsities, such as filled the Montgredien Pamphlet. It is both their duty and their interest to see that their side of the case is as fully presented as the other, and that all who are engaged in this work have their confidence and cordial support.

THE purchase of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad by the Pennsylvania Railroad, is another of those proceedings by which the great corporations are wearing out the patience of the country. If the purchasing road could plead that it obtained thereby any facilities which it otherwise could not enjoy, that of itself would justify the purchase. But it is believed in some quarters that the transaction was effected, not to secure advantages for the Pennsylvania Railroad, but to prevent a rival road from securing an outlet to New York and Philadelphia. The Baltimore and Ohio Road, it is true, were already engaged in negotiations for the purchase, and there was reason to fear that, if they had effected it, they would have retaliated on the Pennsylvania Road for its misconduct as regards the use of the Connecting Road. This is the only justification for the purchase. In a war begun by the Pennsylvania Railroad, there was reason to fear an act of retaliation. This brings us to the root-evil of the whole situation,—the existence of internecine conflicts between the great carrying companies. These companies obtained their present privileges by the condemnation and seizure of private property, for the public benefit. Every railroad charter involves acts worse than Communism, unless the State means to see that the roads thus created are administered in the interests of the whole community. Instead of this, we see going on a species of private warfare, not for the public benefit, but for that of the corporations; and we find it loudly denied by the organs and representatives of the railroad interests, that they owe anything to the public more than does a mill-owner. And as an incident of this war, we see one company seeking to shut out the people who live on the line of another from the advantages they might derive from access by existing roads to the chief markets of the country. As the States cannot correct this evil, it is time that Congress should exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution for this purpose.

As the months which might have been devoted to preparation elapse, it seems more and more unlikely that New York will have a great exhibition ready for 1883. There is no popular enthusiasm and very little general interest in the subject. It only comes up for discussion in connection with the interminable discussions about a site. One party insists that Central Park is the only place. Another cries, "Hands off!" The affair has already become one



of sets and cliques, with no prospect of a unanimous movement, such as occurred in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, in the mean time, is getting ready for a celebration of the second centennial of PENN's landing in 1682. The most salient proposal made thus far by the committee in charge, is that WILLIAM PENN's bones should be disinterred from their English grave to find a new resting-place in the great city he founded. We appreciate the motives which are behind the suggestion, but we cannot give it our support. To make PENN's bones into relics after this fashion, is to turn our backs on the greatest lesson of his life. The social and political greatness of the early Friends was in their abhorrence of man-worship. It was this which made him the fit founder of a free republic, just as it was this that prompted him to protest against the King's calling the new province after Admiral PENN, his father. One of his first acts in America was to obliterate from the plan of the city the names of persons which had been attached to the streets, and to substitute those of trees. This transfer of his bones to that city is an act which would have caused him as much displeasure as WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE felt in contemplating the possibility of a similar invasion of the sanctity of his own grave, though for a different reason. And, besides, this business of disturbing graves is in the worst taste. It never could have come into currency, except through the regard paid in the Middle Ages to the relics of the saints, and the custom of transferring them to costly shrines, where they would be more accessible for the working of miracles. Could we expect any miracle from PENN's bones, such as the conversion of our politicians into good public servants, the thing might be worth trying. But as this is not looked for, we have not that utilitarian excuse.

Whether the city makes the request or not, we see no likelihood of PENN's new funeral forming a part of our rejoicings. We cannot recall any instance in the history of the Society of Friends where they performed or permitted such an act. And we do not suppose that the English Friends who have charge of the cemetery in which he is buried will give their consent.

MR. CRUMP, the English Vice-Consul at this port, has been making things very lively in the provision trade, by a dispatch sent to his own Government. Following a report forwarded to Philadelphia by the Vice-Consul at Chicago, he alleged that eight hundred thousand swine died of hog-cholera last year in the one State of Illinois, and that the disease was capable of infecting human beings, either through contact or the use of infected flesh. MR. CRUMP's figures were very grossly exaggerated, the deaths being not more than three hundred thousand; and, while the disease is infectious, there is no likelihood of its reaching foreign consumers, as the flesh is too much discolored by it to be fit for packing. It is not from hog-cholera, but from *trichinosis*, that the European consumer may suffer; and so long as pork is used on the Continent of Europe in a raw or half-cooked condition, these fearful plagues may be expected to extend to those who use American or even European pork.

Just at present, there is a good deal of a panic in Europe as regards the unwholesomeness of the animal food we are sending them, and this seems likely to involve serious losses to the American producers. Would it be impossible to obviate this by establishing at the great centres of supply, public inspectorships, and giving an informal veto as regards the appointments to the representatives of those European nations which are most interested? In the long run, we have nothing to gain from any policy but that of openness and honesty; and we may have serious losses through our failure to convince Europe that we are following that policy.

THE silver conference, which meets at Paris at the close of next month, will be one of the most important events of the year. MR. THURMAN, MR. HOWE and MR. EVARTS have already accepted the position of representatives of America. None of these gentlemen

are known as specialists in such matters, and MR. THURMAN, who has taken the most interest in it, has not always been happy in his treatment of the question. It is unfortunate that GEN. WALKER's occupation with the Census forbids his appointment; but even in his absence there is no reason to fear that we shall be inadequately represented. The silver question is well-threshed straw by this time. There are hardly any new points that can be brought forward, and the old are by no means so recondite as to require specialists for their comprehension.

The first question for the convention to settle will be the possibility of a general international convention for the remonetization and free coinage of silver. This will depend mainly upon the assent or the refusal of England, and it is more probable that England will refuse than that she will assent. The firmly set prejudice of the country for sixty years past has been in favor of the single gold standard; and the present depression of silver, with the likelihood of its still further decline, does not furnish the situation in which England is likely to reconsider her views of the subject. It is true that there have been some indications of a change of opinion, but no evidence that the change has been general. EARL BEACONSFIELD coquetted with the question; and *The Times* hinted that it would be well for America to persuade England of the need of a change. All who are interested in Indian finance are disposed to think that SEYD and CERNUSCHI have something to say for themselves; and even strenuous gold-standard men are disposed to deprecate the farther extension of their own system to foreign countries. *The Spectator*, for instance, described our coinage at the 1:16 ratio as an act of dishonesty, but does not wish to see the abolition of the 1:15.5 ratio coinage in force in Europe and India. All this shows a certain theoretic tendency towards taking silver back to favor; but so long as England experiences no indirect inconvenience from its demonetization, and is able to force France and Germany to pay our drafts for gold, she will stand by her present system. Her people may be very glad to see silver remonetized abroad, but they will keep to gold at home. And their refusal will probably be fatal to the whole project. In the absence of English support, it is doubtful if the Scandinavian nations and Germany will accede to remonetization. And it is doubtful whether, if they did accede, the Latin Union and America would be able, with their support, to retrieve the fortunes of that metal. For ourselves, it would be folly to agree to free coinage at any ratio, until England had agreed to that measure. It would be simply an arrangement to allow England to pay us the balances she may owe in a metal she would not receive again when we owed her a balance, and which, for that reason, would be of no use to us in international trade.

THE second great question for the conference is that of the ratio of remonetization. As every one knows, the vast silver coinage of Europe is based on the assumption that one ounce of gold is worth no more than fifteen and one-half ounces of silver. Our own coinage assumes that it is worth sixteen ounces. As a matter of fact it is worth, in the markets of the world, eighteen and one-third ounces. The bi-metallists urge, with some force, that this rate is due to the demonetization of the metal in some parts of Europe, the cessation of its coinage in the rest, and the refusal to establish free coinage in America. They say that a general resumption of free coinage would suffice to restore it to its old price, represented by the ratio of coinage current in those European countries which make silver a legal tender. The new adjustment of demand to supply would be quite sufficient. Some of them maintain that the relative price of the two metals is governed, not by the relation of demand to supply, but by convention, and that whatever ratio the civilized portion of mankind agree to accept universally, will be that of the market price. Theories of this kind, however congenial to the new tendencies in political economy, tend to repe-

sober people from the serious consideration of the subject. The silver question has the fairest chance of consideration on the sound basis that the value of the precious metals is determined like any other value. It is determined by the cost of reproduction or replacement. If the silver now in circulation can be replaced by Nevada at five per cent. less outlay of labor and capital than were required for its production, the demand for it remaining the same, then silver must go down five per cent. Remonetization is a factor in determining the value, because it may increase the demand. But exactly how far that increase of demand may go to determine the price, no one can predict with certainty, any more than he can predict the future of the supply of silver,—or of gold, for that matter. And resumption at a less ratio than that furnished by the market-price, will not find any support in those nations which are doubtful of the wisdom of remonetization at any ratio. The Latin Union, led by France, will incline very naturally to the maintenance of the 1 : 15.5 ratio, as its abolition would involve the recoinage of their silver at a considerable loss. For the same reason America will be disposed to stand up for the 1 : 16 ratio. But if remonetization should be agreed to on all hands, it will be at a higher ratio than either.

THE British Parliament has had as much of Mr. GLADSTONE'S new invention, called Urgency, as it cares for. The Tories have refused flatly to vote for Urgency, as regards the Supply or Appropriation Bills, and these important measures must take their chance of being delayed by the Irish members. It is already ascertained that no rules to restrain debate are sufficient to check the exuberance of Irish eloquence. One measure after another has been kept before the House for days after its passage had been resolved upon, the action of the majority having absolved the Irishmen from the understanding that they would obstruct only the Coercion Bills, but would let the other business take its course. A notable feature of the new rules was the point that the Tory leader, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, was not allowed to state to the House his reasons for resisting Urgency. When a Minister moves Urgency, it is, under the new rules, not debatable; so that Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE had to state his objections in a published address to his constituents, not for their information, but for that of the House. It is incidents like this that will make the English people sick of the new Parliamentary methods.

THE election to fill the vacancy at Coventry will probably induce some Liberals to think twice about their attitude toward Irish questions. In this, as in many of the English boroughs, the Irish voters hold the balance of power. At the general election, they were so irritated at the character of BEACONSFIELD'S manifesto, that they passed the word to vote for the Liberals without asking pledges. It was the loss of their temper that secured Mr. GLADSTONE his large and untrammelled majority. Now the word is to elect the Tories, and Coventry is carried over from the Liberal to the Tory side of the House. If the present Government cannot manage to secure some *modus vivendi* with the Irish voters, not even their expected gains in the counties will save them from a sweeping defeat in the next election. They will lose nearly all their Irish supporters, and not a few in England also. The Irish people care more for their own questions, than for any differences between English parties. They will therefore do in England as they have done in the Colony of Victoria: *viz.*, vote against every administration, and make every election a shift of power, until they find a party which will come to terms with them.

THE work of arresting Land Leaguers goes bravely on, although but three of any note have been taken as yet. One of those in

prison is an American citizen, and the American Consul has forwarded a statement of his case to the British Embassy at London. We fear that Mr. LOWELL, with all his cleverness and amiability, will not readily see the importance of a decided interference in the matter, and the friends of Ireland in America will look to Mr. BLAINE to reinforce the energies of our representatives in London. Had Mr. BOYTON been convicted by any tribunal known to civilization, of any offence against the municipal law in force in Ireland, then there would be nothing to do but let him take the consequences. At the utmost, we might intercede for his release as an act of courtesy, as Mr. WELSH did for several American Fenians. But as the case arises under the Coercion Act, the situation is very different. Mr. BOYTON is refused any trial or hearing of any kind. He is sent for years to prison and kept there without conviction, or redress beyond what our diplomatic agents may secure. Our treaties with England assume that our subjects living on her soil are under the protection of her Constitution, and of a civilized system of law. But the Coercion Laws reduce the proclaimed districts of Ireland to something of the level of Turkey or China,—countries in which we establish extra territorial courts for the protection of American residents, and refuse to allow them to be impleaded in the native courts. We need not insist on Mr. BOYTON'S release; but we should not consent to his imprisonment under an *ex post facto* law and without trial of some sort.

THE Nihilists have at last succeeded in their oft-repeated attempts on the Czar's life. We have spoken at some length in another column of the leading features of his reign, and of the reason why an Emperor whose name is associated with great deeds of a popular character, became an object of such passionate detestation to a small minority of his subjects. It was not ALEXANDER'S personal character that furnishes the explanation. We do not believe that Russia ever possessed a more amiable ruler, or one more devoted to his duties. His enemies charged him with a careless indifference to public duty; but those who were acquainted intimately with his habits, said that he spent ten hours a day in hard public work. He was, to a great extent, his own Cabinet; and even in foreign affairs, where Chancellor GORTSCHAKOFF was supposed to exercise a decisive influence, the Czar insisted on knowing everything and in making himself felt at every point. If Russia was ill-governed, it was due, rather, to the clumsy, ineffective system which his predecessors had created after German models, and filled with German officials, than to his personal neglect.

In America, there is but one feeling in regard to his death. He was our staunch and valued friend, at a time when we had few among the rulers of Europe. It was not from the free nations of Western Europe, but from this half-Oriental despotism, that we experienced the most constant kindness in our great struggle with disunion and slavery; and the cession of Alaska after the war was another public expression of his regard for the people of the United States. It is to be regretted that some of our newspapers have given prominence to the wild ravings of a knot of Communists and Nihilists in New York, where the death of the Czar was treated as a matter of public exultation.

OUR record of events at home and abroad closes with the week ending March 16th:—

The 100th anniversary of the battle of Guildford Court House was celebrated on the 15th at Greensboro, North Carolina, by a military display and the usual orations.

A capital of \$400,000 has been subscribed for the immediate erection of a steam cotton mill in Charleston, South Carolina. It is thought this enterprise will be the pioneer of several others.

At a meeting of citizens of Chicago, held on the 11th, to take steps commemorative of the tenth anniversary of the



great fire, it was resolved to drop all other plans and adopt one proposing the erection of a building for the Public Library, to cost \$500,000.

The purchase of the steam whaler *Mary and Helen*, for the Navy Department expedition in search of the *Jeannette*, was completed on the 15th, \$100,000 being paid to the owner of the vessel. She is a year and a half old, is rated for fourteen years, and has a displacement of 520 tons.

It is stated that representatives of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad have bought a controlling interest in the Delaware and Western Railroad, and that preliminaries have been arranged for a new line of railway between Baltimore and Philadelphia in the Baltimore and Ohio interest.

J. STANLEY BROWN, formerly stenographer to Major POWELL, of the Smithsonian Institution, has been appointed Private Secretary to President GARFIELD. Mr. BROWN was at Mentor during the election campaign, and has been acting as the President's Private Secretary since the inauguration.

In the Circuit Court at Poughkeepsie, on the 15th, Judge BARNARD non-suited a party who claimed from the editor of the *Towanda Herald* a percentage alleged to be due on a sum received for publishing a concurrent resolution of the Legislature, the publication of which plaintiff alleged he procured through his influence with the Secretary of State. The Judge, in dismissing the suit, held that "a contract will not rest upon the consideration of personal consideration of the President, the Governor, the Secretary of State, or any other officer; that the people have a right to their judgment without solicitation; and that such contracts are against public policy and void."

CHARLES D. GILMORE, an attorney and claim agent, of Washington, D. C., has brought suit in the District Court against ex-Secretary SCHURZ for \$200,000 damages. He alleges that, without just cause, Secretary SCHURZ disbarred him from practice in the Interior Department last April, thus breaking up a legal business whose profits are estimated by the plaintiff at \$40,000 per annum. The disbarment of GILMORE, it appears, was the result of an investigation of a charge that GILMORE had been bribing a clerk in the Land Office. The points involved in the case are whether an executive officer has a right to disbar an attorney, and whether, if the right exists, the officer is liable for damages when the power is improperly exercised.

The Italian Budget for 1881 shows a surplus of 15,000,000 lire. Intelligence is published in St. Petersburg that the Tekke-Turcomans, without exception, have submitted to Russia.

The General Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church has resolved to forbid instruction in the German language in all the higher girls' schools and teachers' training colleges.

A bill has been introduced in the Dominion House of Commons "to prevent agents of foreign railways from holding out inducements to persons to emigrate from Canada."

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD, in opening the Kerry Assizes on the 16th, said that 463 crimes had been reported during the last seven months, which was seven-fold of the record during the same period in the previous year.

It is asserted in well-informed circles that the Porte has declared that, in view of the opposition of the Ambassadors to the line of frontier proposed by Turkey, the Porte had altered the terms of its proposition, and has now offered to cede Crete, ceding on the other hand considerably less territory in Thessaly.

In the final appeal of the TICHBORNE claimant to the House of Lords, to declare the sentence of two consecutive terms of seven years' penal servitude, which he received upon being found guilty upon two counts of the same indictment, illegal, after a long argument by Mr. J. P. BENJAMIN, the claimant's counsel, the Lord Chancellor confirmed the decision of the Court below, and dismissed the appeal without calling on the counsel for the Crown to reply.

MESSRS. CASSELL, PETTER, GALPIN & Co., the publishers, write to the *London Times*, saying they are authorized by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, President of the Board of Trade, to announce that, in the event of the present informal communications between England and the United States resulting in a treaty, the third modification suggested by the Board of Trade, "that all prints or reprints of books by British authors, published by or with the consent of the author in the United States, be freely admitted into the United Kingdom and all parts of the Queen's dominions," will be abandoned by Her Majesty's Government.

### THE DEATH OF THE CZAR.

DE QUINCEY, in his brilliant studies of the history of Imperial Rome, contrasts "the superhuman grandeur and consecrated powers of the Roman emperor's office" with "the extraordinary perils which menaced the individual emperor, and the peculiar frailties of his condition," in that he might perish by the hand of a slave, and motives were never wanting to impel men to seek his death. The story of the death of ALEXANDER II., which has excited the horror and drawn forth the sympathy of the civilized world,—and of no land more decidedly than the western Republic, which he befriended in the hour of her sorest need—is another illustration of the dangers which beset the position of the absolute monarch. One more ROMANOFF has gone by violence from the one seat of absolute power inside Christendom. Since PETER THE GREAT, only one male sovereign of the house has died a natural death.

It was the misfortune of ALEXANDER II. that he inherited a vicious system of government, which he had not the energy, if he had the desire, to overthrow. When he came to the throne in 1856, the existing order of the Russian body politic was wholly discredited, through the miserable failures of the Crimean war. But, as is too often the case, a mistake was made in the selection of the scapegoat upon whom should be laid the responsibility of those failures. The wretched bureaucracy, which since the time of PETER had been cramping the nation's energies and giving a wrong direction to its development, escaped the censures which were its due. Its power was left untouched, and even increased, while the hereditary nobility of the Empire were selected as the victims of national and imperial displeasure. The growing advocacy of a needed reform helped to this result. The friends of emancipation singled out the owners of the common people as the class whose power was to be broken. A millenium was foretold, to be introduced by the ukase, which would liberate from their bondage the twenty millions of Russian *moujiks*.

The act of emancipation was predestined to be a disappointment, because it was held up to the discontented as the reform which would do away with all the abuses of the governmental system. A little thought would have shown this expectation to be absurd. The *moujiks* were and remain nearly as much outside the political system of the Empire, as though they belonged to another continent. They do belong to a different world,—the old Russian world which PETER, CATHERINE and the rest have striven to abolish, and which they have never in the least degree absorbed. The Europeanized half of the empire,—the arena of public opinion and discussion, the Russia which frets itself over the contrast between the Empire's political methods and those of Western Europe—found its grievances untouched by the change.

Besides this, the emancipation itself was so managed as to add the *moujiks* to the list of discontented classes. Thanks to the influence of the Moscow theorists, the rude and primitive communism of the Russian village community (*mir*), instead of being gradually and cautiously superseded by a system of land tenure in severalty, was deliberately retained. It was ordered that the lands of the *mir* should not be distributed unless two-thirds of all the *moujiks* voted for distribution. This arrangement was regarded as furnishing a sufficient insurance against pauperism and its attendant evils, which are afflicting the West. The *mir* is made responsible for each of its members. If one is sick, the *mir* takes care of him; if he idles away his summer, the *mir* feeds him through the winter; if he cannot pay his taxes, the *mir* must assess them on his neighbors; if he wanders away as a tramp, the Government bundles him back to his village. This arrangement does give the required insurance, but at the cost of repressing thrift of every kind. The naturally industrious man has no motive to toil or to save. In the

end he will be no better off than the rest. So he, like the rest, drinks and enjoys himself. A great increase in the consumption of potato-brandy (*vodka*), and a great decline in the condition of the peasantry of every class, was noticed by even the friends of emancipation in the years which followed the great event. And as yet there has been no reverse of this downward tendency. The famine, which has brought thousands of villages to the brink of starvation this winter, is one of the fruits of this universal, national and compulsory insurance against pauperism. Prince BISMARCK and his *Kathedersocialisten* might find Russia worthy of closer study than they have given it.

Emancipation, with the retention of Communism, has not given liberty to the serfs. Instead of the nobles, have come the village-elders, re-elected every year by help of free *vodka* at election time, living in fine brick houses, while the *moujiks* have wooden hovels, and handling the moneys of the community for their personal benefit. Communism breeds lords and masters, in this case and always.

The great majority of these common people of Russia are heartily loyal to the Czar. But the more thoughtful heads among them,—those that had formed the greatest expectations as to the blessings emancipation would bring,—are not so. This is the class which crowd into the cities to take up trades, and it is thus the more open to the wild teachings of destructive theorists. From them, and from the educated classes in the cities, have been recruited the secret societies which have kept Russia in terror, and whose emissaries have destroyed the life of the best-meaning and hardest-working of all the Czars.

Nihilism is a political programme of absolute negation. No God, no political rule, no fatherly authority, no moral code beyond the individual instinct. All great political thinkers,—Lamennais, Victor Hugo, Mazzini and Proudhon not excepted,—have predicted an era of violent destruction, should religion cease to maintain its hold upon the poor and suffering classes. Destroy such people's belief in a future of compensations, where Lazarus may get the good things this life has denied him, and you remove all moral restraints from their conduct. But even these authors could not have predicted Nihilism. There is something in it purely devilish,—as of a delight in destruction for its own sake, apart from any prospective gain to the individual or his class. It is not the quest of power, or of comfort, or wealth; it is the purely infernal instinct, which rises too high, or rather sinks too low, to need these paltry motives. It is irreligion, not of the head, but of the heart; not of calculation, but of passion; not earthly and sensual, but devilish. And it is just this that puts the Nihilists completely outside the pale of the world's sympathy. They are not assassins, as were Brutus, Harmodius and Charlotte Corday, for the sake of an end beyond the evil deed, but for sake of the evil deed itself. They do not hope to secure a better government by putting ALEXANDER III. in the place of ALEXANDER II. They have no confidence in any member of the family, or in being able to displace the family. They want simply their death or that terror which is a living and constant death.

We believe that the new Emperor is capable of the great work of removing the real evils of the Russian system of government. It was he who struck the bureaucracy the terrible blow involved in their virtual supersession by Gen. LORIS MELIKOFF. That return to simple and direct despotism was welcomed by the educated classes of Russia as a great change for the better. They prefer one sensible ruler to a thousand fools invested with absolute power and organized as a secret inquisition. But it was not accepted by the Czarevitch as a finality. He saw beyond it, as the dream of his life, the establishment of a representative system, the substitution of popular for bureaucratic officials, and the free discussion of public affairs, as the best outlet for seditious humors. It is al-

so of good omen that he distinctly recognizes the reasons for the great disappointments connected with the Ukase of Emancipation. He is no friend to agrarian communism, no believer in the new nostrum of "compulsory insurance against pauperism."

If we mistake not, his accession will give a new turn to the foreign policy of the Empire. His father's sincere dislike of war was more than once the chief factor in preserving the peace of Europe. He did not wish peace at any price; he peremptorily forbade the re-invasion of France by Germany a few years past, and thus broke up the alliance of the three Emperors. But how much he had come to love peace, was shown by the pressure from his own people required to begin the war with Turkey. His successor has always been of the war party in Russia, and the new reign will occupy a very different attitude towards European questions, while no efforts will be relaxed in the farther East. There will be a more zealous support of the claims of Greece, and a more distinct notification to Austria that the Balkan peninsula—not excepting Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Bosnia—belongs to the Slavic people of that peninsula, and not to the House of HAPSBURG.

GOD save ALEXANDER III.!

#### THE PRESIDENT AND MORMONISM.

AMONG the many excellent things contained in President Garfield's inaugural address, the clause referring to the Mormon question is not the least important. Admirable for its brevity, it yet evinces a knowledge of the affairs of Utah possessed by few besides those who have been actual residents of that Territory. The President believes that the laws, hitherto dead letters, must be enforced, and that the time is propitious for their enforcement. These opinions from a man prompt in action, who promises no more than he can perform, will prove satisfactory to the lovers of law and order in the West.

The opponents of Mormonism in Utah, the Gentiles, as they are termed, have no desire to persecute the Saints. All that they ask is that the laws of the United States shall be enforced there in the same fair, earnest manner as in other portions of this free country. For polygamy is not the only crime to be found enshrined on the altar of the Mormon Tabernacle. Secret assassination, priestcraft, ignorance, base superstition, the oppression of the poor and weak by the wealthy and powerful, are evils quite as serious as the polygamous marriage. Every prominent priest in the Mormon Church is a man of wealth. Both houses of the Legislative Assembly at Utah are filled by Mormon apostles, bishops and elders, who also appropriate to themselves the local offices of influence in the Territory. Never were Church and State so completely interwoven and blended so thoroughly—two halves of an iniquitous whole. A man is frequently at the same time chief manager in his own county of the "Zion Co-operative Mercantile Institute," judge of probate, member of the Territorial Council, and one of the "twelve apostles" of the Church. If a layman becomes rebellious, "inclined," as the expression is, "to apostacy," the censure of the Church and the prospect of being handed over to the buffetings of Satan, are held up before him. Should these have lost their mental terrors, then by the immense power of the Church, his financial affairs will become suddenly, silently, fatally embarrassed, his life covered with the mildew of misfortune, or on a trumped-up charge he will be dragged before a Mormon judge and a Mormon jury, and peremptorily sentenced to fine and imprisonment. Should he still remain "obdurate," he will be subjected to a persuading system of "Boycotting," in comparison with which that of Ireland is as mild as the evening breeze.

To be a consistent Mormon, one must submit his religious belief, his domestic relations, his business affairs, and his political actions, absolutely to the guidance of the priestly orders. A Mormon dare s



not express a sentiment, take a wife, buy a farm, or cast a ballot, without their approval. If he finds it cheaper to purchase goods at a Gentile store, or advisable to retain the services of a Gentile lawyer, threats and anathemas will be hurled at him from the platform of the Tabernacle on the ensuing Sabbath. It is, indeed, as was once said of it, "a strange country, where a native American is a foreigner, and a Jew is a Gentile." So strange a country is it, that a law-abiding American citizen has but few rights. The hierarchy ruler, JOHN TAYLOR, the president of the Church, is regarded with far more awe and veneration than JAMES A. GARFIELD. Hatred to our free government is instilled by the priesthood into the mind of every Mormon child, who grows up to become a citizen of a foreign and hostile State lying at the heart of this great Republic.

The course to be pursued in the treatment of the Mormons is very plain and straight. On the one side, we do not approve of special legislation, or of packing juries; on the other, we are opposed to having our laws remain a dead letter in any part of the country, and to permitting the Mormons to select juries for the trial of causes in which they, as Mormons, have the deepest interest. With what success could a rioter or Molly Maguire in the mining districts of Pennsylvania be prosecuted before a jury of his comrades in crime and fellows in sympathy? With what success can a bigamist in Utah be prosecuted before a jury composed of conscientious polygamists, who regard their oaths to the Church as paramount to their oaths of allegiance to the United States and to their oaths as jurors? The remedy for the difficulty is to let the juries of Utah be selected by men who are law-abiding citizens of the United States, and not by those who are living in open defiance of the statutes thereof; to let a law be passed similar to those which exist in many States, in reference to certain offences, that general reputation in the neighborhood shall be received as evidence, and that if a man is known to cohabit with two or more women, the presumption shall be that he is guilty of polygamy, and that the burden of proof shall rest upon him to establish his innocence; and to let the ballot be as free in Utah as it is to-day in Pennsylvania. If these things are done, while the difficulties of the Mormon problem cannot at once be disposed of, the death-blow at the system will have been struck.

As regards juries in Utah, the law now requires that the jurors shall be drawn in equal proportions from the Mormon and the Gentile elements. The former, of course, object to any change. But has a law-breaker the right to demand the position of a jurymen, or has a person charged with felony a right to insist that half the jury which tries him shall be composed of persons who have been indicted for a similar offence? As to the matter of evidence, unless the law that we suggest is enacted, but little can be done. The parties to unlawful marriages cannot be compelled to criminate themselves, and the priest who officiates is bound by what he regards as a higher oath than any he can take in a court of law, not to reveal the secrets of the Endowment House. The common law holds that if stolen goods are found in a man's possession soon after the theft has been committed, and he can give no reasonable explanation of how he came by them, the Court presumes that he is guilty of larceny. It can work no greater hardship to enact that when a man is found with from two to twenty nominal wives in his keeping, the Court shall presume that he is guilty of polygamy.

The responsibility, however, for this state of things rests far more with Congress than with the President. By some mysterious influence, laws, excellent in their incipency, have heretofore been sadly mutilated previous to their passage. If Congress would do its whole duty, there is no question but that the present Executive will see every law fully enforced, and prove that an American citizen can enjoy his rights as freely in Utah as he may in Montana or in Massachusetts.

## PUBLIC OPINION.

## THE ASSASSINATION OF ALEXANDER II.

THERE is no mistaking the opinion of the American press upon the assassination of the Czar. No such unanimity of belief and harmony of expression have been found in the newspapers in a long time, for the assassins are condemned earnestly and in positive terms almost everywhere,—East, West, North and South. The few avowed Socialistic journals naturally do not join the chorus of condemnation; but they are exceptions, and exceptions must be looked for whenever the press discusses any similarly large topic of human interest. The Rochester *Express* thinks that "murder never before wore such portentous aspect," because, as it seems to that paper, the assassination is full of evil, both to the advancement of liberty and the peace that is consequent upon stable government, of whatever character. The most noticeable point in a great number of the editorials is the fact that the late Emperor is remembered as the liberator of the serfs. One journal of prominence refers to him as "the greatest liberator of mankind," who was "assassinated as a tyrant;" and the Albany *Argus* tersely says: "It was the cruel killing of a man not cruel." When the many expressions of this class are analyzed, it becomes apparent that the newspapers generally are influenced in their comments by their natural abhorrence of murder. Furthermore, the murder of the Czar is regarded by a number of papers as being to Russia what the assassination of Mr. Lincoln was to the American people, and the manumission of serfs by the one, and the emancipation of slaves by the other, are brought prominently into comparison. In juxtaposition to this, however, is the opinion of some newspapers, such as the Newark, N. J., *Journal*, which can find no good ground for the comparison between Mr. Lincoln and Alexander II., believing that the two historical events in the career of each were no more than reasonable coincidences, and that, on the other hand, the murders should furnish us a lesson of contrast, as showing the present misery of a strong government without a popular Constitution, and the present happiness of a strong government ruled by moral force. In the mass of comment, allusions to the marked friendship between Russia and America are by no means infrequent. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, while expressing abhorrence of Nihilism, that hounds so mercilessly and murders so cruelly, calls to mind Talleyrand's grim definition, "The Russian Government is an absolute despotism, tempered by assassination," and fears that the sorrows of the Romanoffs and the Russian people must continue until some now unseen light appears. To the Richmond *Dispatch* it seems that "the most striking comment that could be made, is to say that, while nobody was surprised, the crime is no less shocking and barbarous." Nor is there wanting the editor who "has known for some time that the assassination was imminent," because "the extraordinary inactivity of the Nihilists" attracted his attention, and caused him to watch expectantly the breezes from St. Petersburg.

The kindred topic of the policy of Alexander III. is not so readily and freely handled as the bald fact of assassination. As it appears to the critics of the press, the assassination is to be condemned without searching inquiry into the condition of the Empire. But in striving to look along the pathway of the new Czar, they seek to define the Nihilism of the future, and the effect of the change in rulers upon the peace of Europe. The Buffalo *Courier* believes that "those whom Alexander Nicolaevitch may have chastised with whips, his son is likely to chastise with scorpions." Moreover, the Boston *Advertiser* and other journals, including, indeed, a St. Louis paper of Socialistic leanings, prophesy that the assassination is a blow to the cause of freedom in Central as well as in Western Europe. They say that the tie which has bound the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin is severed, and that the accession of the new Czar is an event of far-reaching importance. It may fairly be concluded that the newspaper judgment is voiced by the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, in a paragraph which reads: "However Americans may object to the Governmental abuses in Russia, they have no sympathy with the methods employed by the revolutionists to produce a *tabula rasa*, upon which a new Government could be constructed."

## THE SOUTH.

## A SYMPOSIUM.

IN THE AMERICAN for February 5, we published the first instalment of a series of letters from Southern men in review of the Southern political situation, with reference to national affairs. These letters were elicited by questions in writing, with the sole object of bringing about a better understanding between North and South, to the end that national unity may be promoted through the obliteration of sectional lines. All of the replies received are from men whose relations to the Federal and State Governments, or whose social and political antecedents and influence, make their opinions of great value to the student of contemporary politics. In the publishing of them from week to week, regard is had to a classification according to States, going southward from the Potomac, and beginning with the two Virginias. In the issue for February 5, letters were printed from Hon. A. H. H. STUART, ex-Secretary of the Interior; Senator WITHERS, Lieut.-Gov. WALKER, and Representative JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER. In our issue for February 12, letters were printed from Senator JOHN W. JOHNSTON, Representative R. L. T. BEALE, Professor B. PURYEAR, and Governor MATHEWS, of West Virginia. On February 19th, we published letters from Senator Z. B. VANCE, Representative W. H. KITCHIN, Ex-Congressman WADDELL, Representative A. M. SCALES, and Judge W. N. H. SMITH, of North Carolina. In the succeeding number, that for February 26, we opened the discussion upon South Carolina with letters from Senator M. C. BUTLER, Representative JOHN S. RICHARDSON, Representative M. P. O'CONNOR, ex-Representative E. W. M. MACKEY and Senator WADE HAMPTON. In the issue succeeding, the discussion of South Carolina was concluded with communications from Representative D. WYATT AIKEN and Judge J. B. KERSHAW. In the number for March 12, the discussion upon Georgia was begun, with letters from Senator B. H. HILL and Mr. AUGUSTUS O. BACON.

To obtain this information, it was deemed expedient to indicate a common line of discussion, and the letter addressed to each Southerner, to which a reply was sent, was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—There is a strong desire among the better elements in the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity known as "the Solid South," not merely for the good it would do the South, but also for the benefit it would unquestionably do the North in obliterating a cause of sectional suggestions and harmful dividing lines. The North is sincere in this.

We here can conceive of no better way of arriving at a solution of the question than by obtaining, considering and adopting, so far as we see it to be possible, the opinion of the South upon the best means of removing the bugbear. THE AMERICAN intends to do what lies in its power to promote this end by laying before its Northern readers the views of Southern men whose position and knowledge entitle them to speak. Will you not, therefore, kindly oblige THE AMERICAN and the conservative Republicans at the North by replying to the following questions?

1. Has the "Carpet-Bag" influence been hurtful or helpful in your State; and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?
2. How far has this Carpet-Bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?
3. Have the Carpet-Baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the Carpet-Baggers?
4. Is the Carpet-Bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?
5. Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?
6. What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?
7. Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?
8. What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?
9. What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect?
10. What does the South need from them?
11. What does the South expect to get from them?
12. Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?

## GEORGIA.

[Continued from our issue of March 12th.]

## REPRESENTATIVE EMORY SPEER.

Of the younger generation of Georgia statesmen, EMORY SPEER is the most conspicuous. Mr. SPEER is only thirty-three years of age, but has been more or less a public character since 1873. Prior to that time, he had studied law under B. H. HILL, and served as a private soldier in the

Confederate army. His first official service was as Solicitor-General for the eleven counties in the Western Judicial District, and he held that office three years. When Mr. HILL was elected to the United States Senate, Mr. SPEER sought to succeed him in the House of Representatives, but was unsuccessful. He came forward, however, again in 1878, and was elected by a small majority. For one of his years, his prominence and influence on the floor of Congress have been remarkable. Much of his success has been due to independence, and the rest to untiring energy. There is hope for the South in such men as EMORY SPEER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21st, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: Your favor of a recent date has given me sincere pleasure, and I shall respond frankly and in the cordial spirit of your own letter, and I trust with the same generous purpose of advancing the cause of perfect reconciliation in our national politics. The term, "carpet-bag influence," used in the several questions you propound to me, is scarcely accurate. It has, in a Southerner's mind, no sort of application to any citizen from the Northern States who may come among us to cast his lot with our people. The carpet-bagger has ceased to exist. He is confined to a certain period of our political history. He has either disappeared entirely, or by a happy process of evolution has become more useful to society and more congenial with the temper of our people. Some of the carpet-baggers were men of character and ability; others were the veriest froth, thrown to the top by the seething caldron of civil war. Generally, the best remain with us. The visionary, the explorer, the gentleman who was on "the make,"—has each taken his grip-sack to other fields of usefulness, and doubtless regards his excursion into the sunny South as a fool's errand. The intelligent and reputable classes of the Southern people have, since the readmission of the Southern States into the Union, welcomed the advent of the Northern capitalist and the Northern emigrant of every occupation, and regarded them as important and almost necessary factors of continued prosperity. This feeling was never so strong as at this time. While no concerted effort has been made to turn the tide of immigration Southward, much has been said and written by individuals in furtherance of this purpose; nor have the better class of Northern immigrants been wanting.

There is in my district a colony of Northern men, some forty or fifty in number, who are certainly thriving. They will compare most favorably in education and intelligence with the best population in any of the States. One of these men holds a valuable position, to which he is elected by the people. There is nothing like social ostracism, of which so much is said. These men are working profitably old lands which were regarded as worn out, but which, by proper cultivation, have been easily made productive. I do not deny that there are individuals in almost every Southern community who would feel keenly and sensitively if the immigrant should indulge in such denunciations of the Southern revolution, its traditions and memories, as some of us occasionally hear in a more conspicuous arena. There are hot-headed people everywhere. I do not think it would be necessary, nor indeed gentlemanly, for a Northern man who goes South to live, to inform the people who were in the Confederate army that he considered them as rebels and as traitors. The amenities of social intercourse would be better observed if the skeleton of our great family were allowed to remain in the closet. If a Southern man should come to Philadelphia and dilate on the reminiscences of Bull Run and Fredericksburg, should he commend the patriotism of Jefferson Davis and the public services of Rafael J. Semmes, and intimate that Lincoln and Sumner were no better than they should be, he would be treated to a good deal of social ostracism, perhaps, before he escaped from the Quaker City. The existence of this feeling is not abnormal; it is the usual and inevitable result of divisions in a people which have been unhappily marked in blood. The color of a ribbon is sufficient to inflame a population, when that ribbon reminds one that ancestors, many generations removed, were thrown down from the battlements of Londonderry and routed on the hillside of Boyne Water. Fiction itself produces some of its happiest effects by exaggerating this indelible trait in human nature. The review in the Phoenix Park, as described in one of Lever's charming novels, was progressing finely; the Lord-Lieutenant and the attendant nobility and gentry were charmed at the evolutions of citizen soldiery,—until a band of the Orange Battalion struck up the air "The Protestant Boys," and the drum-corps of the "Louth Militia" retorted with the taunting strains of "Vinegar Hills." The sequel is easily imagined.

All of these differences are purely sentimental. They have no injurious effect on the life of the nation, nor do they in any sense weaken the affection of our people for our common country; and I say that the great mass of the Southern people are as true to the flag of the Union, as jealous of its honor, as ready to risk life and property in its defence, as if no shot had ever been fired in anger between the sections. This declaration may awaken the incredulity of some, but it is unquestionably true.

You ask me: "Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity?" It seems to me that that depends a good deal on the Democrats referred to. On those great questions of economic legislation in which the South is so vitally interested, I am unable to see that the Northern Democrats have any consistency of opinion. The South has given a political *quid pro quo* for all the encouragement it has received from the Northern Democracy. Southern Democrats constitute a majority of the caucus of the Democratic party in Congress, and that majority unhesitatingly nominates a distinguished Northern Democrat for Speaker. Southern men, the equal in forensic ability of their Democratic brethren, quietly acknowledge the leadership of Northern Democrats on the floor of the House. The eleven States that were in secession cast a solid Electoral vote for the Democratic candidate for the Presidency; and yet the Democracy, having had control of Congress for two years, has enacted no legislation of consequence to the material welfare of the Southern people. Appropriations have been made to rivers and harbors; but it will not be insisted that



the South has received an undue proportion of this largess of the Government. I allude to the absence of legislation which tends to foster Southern industries. The people of the South care a great deal more for the removal of the import duties on cotton machinery than they do for such questions as, whether there shall be Supervisors or Deputy Marshals at elections, or whether General Fitz-John Porter shall be restored to his rank in the army. It is vital relief of this sort that the interest of the South and the whole country demands. The need of the South is diversified industries. The protective tariff is ostensibly to encourage American industries, and yet here is the great American industry of cotton manufacturing at the South paralyzed in a measure because a prohibitory duty will not permit a Southern man, who desires to embark his capital in cotton manufacturing, to buy his machinery where he can get it at its true market value. The import tax on cotton machinery is virtually prohibitory. The purchaser can buy the machinery in England for half the price that he is compelled to pay in this country, and here, therefore, is the spectacle of a great industry, capable of the most perfect and wonderful success in perhaps ten States of the Union, which must languish that the American manufacturer of its implements may flourish. This is not protection to American industry, and yet measures that tend to the repeal of this tax have had no hearing before a Democratic Congress, with its party majority, as I have said, from the States which would be restored to opulence by this legislation. The illustration I have used of the sort of help the South needs from the Government, leads me to say that the prosperity of the whole country would be very much augmented if Northern men who have money would appreciate the limitless facilities for the manufacture of cotton goods which exist in the Southern States. I will be pardoned for quoting briefly from a speech which I recently ventured to make in the House of Representatives, relating to this subject:

"Sir, if you will exempt machinery for the manufacture of cotton thread and goods from those import duties which the tariff imposes, you will do a great deal more for the South than can be accomplished by the triumph of any financial scheme, however propitious that scheme may be. It is in the manufacture of cotton goods that the best investment for Southern capital is found. By nature, every condition is afforded to make this great industry profitable. Our snowy Southern staple, of which we have the monopoly, will flourish and produce at the very door of the factory. Plentifully supplied with water, the motive power of our factories is furnished by nature. When the streams of your Northern rivers are frozen from bank to bank, and the wheels of the factories are clogged with ice, under the influences of our genial climate the work of the Southern cotton-mill goes on unimpeded; and, sir, by some subtle law of nature, the cotton is spun and woven with more facility in that climate which is its habitat. So in freight, in transportation, in labor, in climate, in everything, the Southern manufacturer has the advantage of all others. These are no conjectures; they are facts. They are proven by the price of factory stocks in the Southern States; and yet we are prevented from embarking our capital in the manufacture of cotton by that protective tariff which fastens on cotton machinery a prohibitory duty, and compels the manufacturer of cotton goods to pay twice the price it is worth for the machinery he purchases. Sir, the protective tariff intends, it is pretended, to encourage American industry. Is not a cotton factory at the South an American industry? It is, and the industry of all others that is best suited to flourish in that country; and yet, sir, when we seek to purchase the tools of our industry, we find that we are handicapped by the tariff. He is no true economist who will refuse to encourage the cotton industry of the South. In 1860, the South produced, with slave labor, 3,826,086 bales of cotton. In 1870, with free labor, ten years later, the South produced 4,170,388 bales, and ten years later, in 1879-'80, the crop was 5,625,000 bales. And, sir, when I tell you that the old worn-out lands, under the present system of cultivation, produce as well as or better than when they were originally cleared; when I tell you that not a tithe of our fertile lands, fitted for the cultivation of cotton, have yet been cultivated, it is easy to see the immense source of national strength to be found in that staple, which is practically restricted to the climate and the territory of the Southern States.

"Mr. Chairman, there are few cargoes which are freighted from the ports of our country which possess the merchantable value of a ship-load of compressed cotton bales. A ship-load of wheat, or of bacon, or of iron, is not worth so much. But, sir, if you would have forever the balance of trade in favor of our country, help us to manufacture in the South the cotton crop that is gathered in the South. Sir, in that way, employment will be given to our citizens; the wages that are paid to the artisans of Manchester and of the cotton manufacturing world will go to the working people of our own country. The profits of manufacturing the cotton will enhance the individual and national wealth of America; and, sir, when you foot up the exports, and strike the balance, you will find that a ship-load of manufactured cotton goods is worth far more than a ship-load of compressed cotton."

The last report of the Eagle and Phoenix Manufacturing Company, of Columbus, Georgia, shows a total investment of \$1,925,722.14. Last year they made \$54,446.36, declared \$75,000 in dividends, credited \$69,446.37 to the machinery account, and placed to the reserve fund \$110,000. The President of the Company makes this statement:

"In 1880 our new mill consumed 3,500,000 pounds of cotton. The cost of all labor, from cotton in the bale to yarn ready for shipment, with average numbers of yarn No. 16, was 1.07 cents per pound. The cost of shipping this yarn from Columbus to Philadelphia is 50 cents per 100 pounds—or half a cent per pound. We could, therefore, lay this yarn down in Philadelphia at 1.57 cents per pound—not figuring cost for waste in manufacturing or general incidental expenses, which would be about the same both North and South. It costs 1.96 cents per pound to lay cotton down in Lowell from Columbus, more than the cotton costs us at our mills. Figures are very simple to show that on this cost of manufacturing, the entire product of our new mill could be made into yarn and placed in Philadelphia ready for sale for \$15,000 less than the raw cotton would cost at a mill in Lowell before it is commenced to be manufactured. I will enter into no argument to answer the statements made by Northern professional writers who decry our advantages. No argument is necessary to sustain established facts—as these are. You wish to know the condition of our operatives, now and previous to employment. Our operatives are all native whites. Before our mills employed them, they were either without employment or their labor was in competition with the other labor of the country. This was the general condition, with only special exceptions. About 1,400 of our operatives are females; and without employment in the mills, there are few places open to them. They gladly avail themselves of opportunities given for employment in the mills, and the supply is very abundant. If our mills employed 5,000 instead of 1,800 hands, there would be no difficulty to secure them. No effort is necessary to induce them to work. They flock to our mills when-

ever they are wanted. They are intelligent and very proficient, and more desirable than the average operator at the North. Labor leagues, short hour strikes, and all the attendant evils so common in both New and Old England, are unknown here and will long remain so."

My own views of the future of the South are very hopeful. There is one fact which, with the diversified industries wise legislation will give us, will make us rich; and that is, that no country on earth can compete with our favored latitude in the growth of cotton. If, however, the benefits of our rich productions shall go to enrich the manufacturing centres of Europe and the world, the South will be like that improvident farmer who impoverishes his lands by luxurious crops that drain the soil, and restores nothing to preserve its fertility. But if the wages of the laborer, the profit of the manufacturer, and the increased value of the material, can be added to our incomes, the day is not distant when the condition of our Southern States will be a subject of national congratulation wherever the flag floats, and of admiration to the rest of the world.

You ask me of the condition of the negroes. In my own State they are prospering. That they are contented, and in a measure happy, is evidenced by the rate of increase in their numbers, as exhibited by the last census. Contentment is a necessary condition of such rapid procreation. The negro has many excellent elements of citizenship. He is becoming a very successful small farmer. In many sections they are buying the land. They are educating their children. In some places they are now selected as jurors; and there is a general degree of advancement in their condition. My own observation is, of course, limited in extent, but the facts I state I personally know. Allow me to say that no one would more bitterly resent than the negro himself an attempt to deprive the Southern States of representation, under the pretence that he is deprived of the right of suffrage. He appreciates all of the privileges which the ballot confers, and he would fail to recognize any benefit to him from the logic recently offered on the floor of the House of Representatives, where it was gravely proposed, because he was alleged to have been temporarily deprived of the ballot, that it was statesmanlike to "eliminate him from representation altogether."

A most hopeful sign of the times is that the people and the press of my State now insist that a good reason shall be given them for every proposition of party leaders. They no longer accept a doctrine simply because it is said to be sound from a party standpoint. They no longer reward men because they are good party men, nor do they punish them for a divergence from lines of strict party subserviency. The election of Senator Brown, who had voted for Grant for President, is an instance of this feeling.

You ask, "What does the South expect from the new Administration?"

Bearing in mind the limited authority which I have to represent its sentiments, I will say that it expects that liberality and fair treatment which it has the right to expect from a large-minded man, of broad and liberal culture, thoroughly informed as to its necessities, and who knows more accurately, perhaps, than any other man on the continent, that the success of his administration and its place in history will depend, more than anything else, on the prosperity of the whole country, and particularly in the advancement of that section which, more than any other, needs assistance from the fostering hand of the Government.

Is my opinion, you ask, fully in accord with public opinion in my State? Of this I cannot speak positively. I am a native Georgian, and, I think, fairly representative of genuine Southern sentiments. It is true that I have opposed the machine politics of my district, but after serving a term in Congress, the people of my district have increased a majority of a little more than 200 to a majority in the last election of over 4,000, in the same aggregate vote,—so I think I am fairly representative of the views of that people; and I shall be most happy if anything I have written will bring to the attention of your readers the great resources of my section, or will relieve any apprehensions of its fidelity to the Government, or remove any doubt of the kindness and hospitality with which Northern men are welcomed there.

I am, dear sir,

Very sincerely yours,

EMORY SPEER.

## ALABAMA.

ALABAMA being one of the largest of the slave-holding States, voted for every Democratic candidate for President of the United States, from JACKSON to BRECKENRIDGE; ably represented in Congress by avowed pro-Slavery and ultra State Rights men, she contended for the annexation of Texas, resisted all measures for the restriction of slave territory, was foremost in threats of armed opposition to Northern attacks upon the peculiar institutions of the South, and took very early grounds in the movement for a dissolution of the Union. Even before the Presidential election of 1860 had taken place, and when the success of ABRAHAM LINCOLN was only probable, WILLIAM M. YANCEY and other Alabamians of influence were negotiating with Democratic leaders of other Southern States, with a view to secession and the formation of a Southern confederacy, with slavery as its corner-stone. As soon as it was apparent that Mr. LINCOLN would receive a majority of the Electoral votes, the Governor of Alabama issued his proclamation for a convention to take into consideration the proclamation of the State's sovereignty and her withdrawal from the Union, and sent commissioners to urge South Carolina to secede without delay. The Alabama Convention met on the 7th of January, 1861, and four days thereafter passed an ordinance of secession, following that act with a call for a gathering of delegates from other Southern States, at Montgomery, on

the 4th of February, to organize the proposed new Confederacy. It was this convention which organized the Confederate States of America, with JEFFERSON DAVIS, of Mississippi, as President, and ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, as Vice-President, and provided for a full provisional Government, with Alabama as the Capital of the Confederacy.

It was at Montgomery that JEFFERSON DAVIS was inaugurated, and that the plan of rebellion was fairly set afoot. In a few months, however, (July, 1861,) Virginia having seceded and cast her lot with the new Confederacy, the Capital was removed to Richmond, and was there continued until the collapse of the secession movement. Alabama fulfilled the promise of those early days of the Rebellion, by supporting the war for independence with men and money to the very last; but there was always a strong Union sentiment, with a large following, in the northern part of the State. There were many battles on Alabama soil, chief among which were the naval engagements in the vicinity of Mobile. Selma, Athens, Montebello, Talladega and Tusculumbia are also memorable names in the history of the war between the States.

The *post-bellum* history of Alabama was not peculiar, except that a provisional Government was set up under President JOHNSON's general scheme, but it was quickly superseded to make way for the military rule to which the whole South was subjected by the Congressional programme of reconstruction. General POPE was the commandant of the district, and he ruled it with a rod of iron, showing neither sympathy with, nor toleration for, the people who had laid down their arms. His course retarded and almost suppressed the longing of the people for rehabilitation in the Union. They viewed with indifference the election of delegates to the Constitutional convention, and allowed the carpet-baggers and negroes to have their own way. Moreover, when the new Constitution was submitted to them for ratification, they treated it with contempt, by staying away from the polls. The result was that, although it received a majority of the votes cast, it did not receive a majority of those registered, and its ratification was, therefore, doubtful. A point was strained, however, and a special act for the re-admission of the State to representation in Congress was passed over a veto by President JOHNSON. This was in June, 1868. The new State officers were a bad lot, and played fast and loose with the public credit. There was much friction between them and the old office-holding class, between property-holders and the laborers, and between the two races. The situation was critical, and the outlook dark, but the intelligence and patriotism of the people finally came to the rescue, and by an earnest effort, with forbearance and political toleration, the reins of government were wrested from adventurers and given to men who, while Republicans, were respectable, a thing not often done in the South in those days. The State was relieved from financial embarrassment, the two races began to understand each other better, the whole people went to work, capital came in with the restoration of confidence, and for the last eight or nine years Alabama has fairly held her own with other Southern States as a peaceable and well-ordered Commonwealth, making slow but steady strides toward prosperity. The State is now Democratic in every branch of the Government, and it is believed that there is little of the repression of the colored vote, which was incidental to the transition process. The people are, on the whole, law-abiding, but they are conservative rather than progressive, and no considerable number of her public men stand out, as in Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina, in advocacy of liberality in politics.

#### REPRESENTATIVE W. J. SAMFORD.

WILLIAM J. SAMFORD, of Opelika, who sits for the counties of Barbour, Bullock, Coffee, Dale, Geneva, Henry, Lee and Russell, comprising the Third Congressional District of Alabama, was born, thirty-seven years ago, at Greenville, Meriweather county, Georgia. He removed to Alabama when a child, and received only a limited education, as he enlisted in the Confederate army when seventeen, as a private in the Forty-sixth Alabama. He commanded a company at the surrender. He began the practice of law in 1871; was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1875; a member of the Electoral College four years ago, and was elected to the Forty-sixth Congress as a Democrat, receiving 6,199 votes against 676 for an Independent and 200 for a Republican opponent. Mr. Samford writes an interesting, lively letter.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 18, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: I am in receipt of your very courteous favor of the 16th inst., in which you advise me of the existence of "a strong desire among the better elements in the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity, known as the 'Solid South,' not merely for the good it would do the South, but for the benefit it would unquestionably do the North in obliterating a cause of sectional suggestions and harmful dividing lines."

Your assurance that "the North is sincere in this," and the evident honesty of your purpose to ascertain the truth, have determined me to reply (necessarily concisely,) to the questions you propound. In order that I may be intelligible, I will re-state your questions.

1. "Has the 'carpet-bag' influence been hurtful or helpful in your State; and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?"

Unquestionably hurtful in every way.

In my State, with but exceptions so few that you might count them on the fingers of one hand, and have fingers to spare, the "carpet-baggers," whose whole stock in trade was politics, were political adventurers, who had no interest in common with our people. Their object was pecuniary gain, without regard to the methods employed to get it. And hence they at once seized on the credulity and ignorance of the recently enfranchised negro, and by assuming to represent, *by authority*, the dominant political power, impressed him with the conviction that his political and material prosperity was not only antagonistic to, but absolutely dependent on the complete subversion of the Southern white man's.

Thus imposed upon, it was only natural that distrust and political enmity should have fortified the negro's mind against all reason and appeal from his former owner. Not being open to reason from this source, he followed, unquestioning, in all matters the dictation of "carpet-baggers," and the corporal's guard of native Southerners who joined them. This, of course, precipitated the "race issue," which was simply an economic contest as to whether the ignorance, under malign leadership, or the intelligence of the country, should control its vital interests. For a time, owing to the disfranchisement of large classes of our people, and the commanding aid of the Federal power, the "carpet-bag" influence prevailed. During its prevalence, notwithstanding liberal provisions in our Constitution\* (extracted from the Constitutions of Northern States,) for the maintenance of public schools, which were met by the payment of liberal taxes, almost exclusively by the white people, our schools amounted to nothing, because the fund was absorbed by a swarm of officials. In this way, and divers other ways, our public educational fund was squandered and the interests of education suffered. With a less sum, now honestly administered, educational facilities are *equally* within the reach of every child in the State, white and black.

The effect of this "influence" upon our commercial prosperity was equally "hurtful." It is suggestive to state the historical fact that the *ante-bellum* debt of Alabama was about \$8,000,000, held largely in Europe, and I have heard it often stated, and not denied, that during the war she succeeded in evading the blockade, and punctually paying the interest thereon in gold. At the termination of the six years' lease of "carpet-bag rule, our bonded debt, direct and contingent, was not far from \$30,000,000. It is fair to say, some of this enormous sum consisted of endorsement of railroad bonds, which, in many instances, were diverted from honest application. Under the legislation of this "influence," counties, cities and towns, through the instrumentality of a "solid" colored vote, had imposed upon them railroad bond indebtedness which they can never pay, but on which the bond-holder is seeking, through Federal courts, to coerce payment by judgment, mandamus, and the like. Of course, such increase of debt necessitated increased taxation, and when to this was added, as a means to divert attention from official malfeasance and to procure a continued lease of power, the wilful misrepresentations of our social status and political aims, which were widely published in the North and in Europe, you can imagine the baleful effect of that "influence" on our "commercial prosperity." We were an agricultural people;—the war left our farmers spoliated, our fields desolated, and our labor demoralized. Of course, we had no capital to develop our resources. Capital never ventures where there is disorder; hence the untruthful representations of confusion and lawlessness were accredited, because emanating from men in official station. During the time of "carpet-bag" ascendancy, public debts were piled up by those who paid no taxes; colored men who signed their names with a "x" sat in our Legislatures and enacted laws; scientific positions were held, at large salaries, by those who had never seen a laboratory and were as ignorant of the subjects of which geology and mineralogy treat as a Hindoo of Darwin's doctrine of evolution. Our judiciary (with rare exception) was filled by "briefless barristers," to whom "the rule in Shelly's case" was an enigma. Incompetency, or worse, prevailed to such an alarming extent, until, in 1874, there was a "supreme" determination by the white people of the State, by lawful methods, to emancipate themselves from this reign of imbecility and ruin. And they did it by bringing every white man to the polls, and securing the co-operation of a small minority of the most intelligent colored voters. Since then, taxes have been reduced; public schools have been fostered; justice has been impartially administered; the laws have been enforced; immigration has been welcomed from Europe and the North; agriculture has prospered; factories have been built; iron furnaces have glowed; harmony has prevailed between the races; confidence has been restored; our population has increased over a quarter of a million; the "carpet-bagger," like the Arab, "has silently stolen away," and we are on the high road to "commercial prosperity."

Allow me to say here that I have been speaking of the carpet-bagger, who is a political *sui generis*. During his reign, too, there were a very few native Republicans in our midst who were honest in their party affiliations. By "carpet-bagger," I do not intend to allude to many who have come into our midst since the war as citizens, from the North and from Europe; who have come to build up their fortunes and to benefit the State. These men have received a cordial welcome, *without regard to their politics*. I might give many instances to verify the assertion that we are not prejudiced against Northern men. In my own district the white people supported an Ohio man for Congress, in 1870. One county, at least, and perhaps others, is now represented in the Legislature by a colonel who served in the Union army. In my county are several families from the North, pursuing the avocations of industry, and enjoying the good-will and kindest social recognition of their neighbors. I do not know the politics of some of them, but, in view of the recent rule of so-called Republicanism in Alabama, it would be strange if they are not Democrats. No, sir; it is not true that a man is proscribed in Alabama on account of his political principles. Whatever asperity of



feeling that has existed there, has been against the objects and methods of men who have sought *personal* aggrandizement at the expense of the best interests of the people, But I must end my answer to Number 1, and give briefer replies to the remainder.

2. "How far has this carpet-bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?"

If I correctly understand this question, it was fostered *largely* by State legislation when they had control of the Legislature. As to "public opinion," they defied it. Since they lost the Legislature, there has been *little* fostering of that "influence."

3. "Have the carpet-baggers had a fair chance to be honest? or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to *weakness* of character in the carpet-baggers?"

That's a queer question; but I answer yes.

4. "Is the carpet-bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?"

Neither, (it is gone,) except in the atmosphere of Federal offices, where, I may say, it waxes.

5. "Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?"

We have certainly considered them friends, and therefore a help.

6. "What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?"

Many of them are beginning to accumulate property, and to see that their interests are identified with the white people, and in the future, as now, will likely act with them. When the whites divide on local issues, they will divide. As a distinct "negro party," it will be without influence.

7. "Has the time come, or is it *near*, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?"

Ne'er. "A rose by any other name smells as sweetly." The South stands for fundamental principles, and cares little for party names.

8. "What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?"

I suppose you mean since the war. There have been many. I will mention a few:

1. The levying of sixty or seventy million dollars of taxation on cotton, by which all the profit of their labor was taken from an impoverished people.

2. In 1868, Congress enacted a Constitution for Alabama, and enforced it by military power.

3. Putting men into office, in our executive, legislative and judicial positions, who were not elected, and sustaining them with the military.

4. Attempting to force upon the races social equality.

5. Sustaining men in official positions who plundered the people under form of law.

6. Placing Federal Judges in our midst who were inimical to our people, who outraged all propriety in their efforts to oppress and harass the citizens, and from whose decisions *there was no appeal*. Notably Judge Busteed, who resigned while impeachment was pending.

7. Appointing Marshals and Federal Commissioners who used their offices as engines of extortion and harassment; in whose honesty, integrity and fairness the people had no confidence, and such officers as no Northern community would have tolerated a day.

8. After coercing us into the Union, then coercing us out again, then re-coercing us back; so that for years we never knew whether we were in or out; and, now that we are in, receiving with distrust every assurance of "loyalty" to the Constitution and acceptance of the legitimate results of the war; and *believing* the truthless tales of rapine, blood and lawlessness with which characterless adventurers malign us immediately preceding every Presidential election. A few years ago, the New York *Tribune* or *Times* published a tale of horror from Alabama, written by an ex-Congressman (who, in justice to the "carpet-baggers," I will state, was a native Republican,) to General Hawley. A citizen of the community where the scene was laid, wrote to the journal, requesting it to send out a correspondent to investigate the matter. The journal had the manliness to do so. The correspondent (whose name I have forgotten, but a Northern gentleman), after a full investigation, pronounced the tale a pure fiction. And yet, by just such agencies, we have been held up to the North for its execration. I know the masses of Northern men are honest in their belief. How can they be enlightened, when great journals, in whom they have confidence, and their great political leaders, continue, for party purposes, to thus mislead them? How can confidence ever be restored, with the avenues of intelligence thus perverted? But I digress. These are a few of the "errors."

9. "What would the South *like to have* from Northern politicians, the Republican party, and the President-elect?"

"Let us have peace!"

10. "What does the South *need* from them?"

Justice and an honest observance of the Constitution.

11. "What does the South *expect to get* from them?"

Nothing "worth mentioning."

Now, sir, I have plainly but frankly answered, more lengthily than I intended, and, perhaps, than you desired, the series of questions you propounded.

Allow me, in conclusion,—Yankee-like—to ask you a question. Why should a "Solid South" be a "bar to the highest national political prosperity?" She is "solid," and made so for self-preservation. She is not "solid" for anything wrong. She is "solid" for law, for order, for intelligent and honest government. She observed, with

concern, that the Republican party was moving to destroy the cherished right of local self-government, and *make an Ireland of the South*. She saw Northern Democrats contending against this centralization, which can only end, logically, in *imperialism*, and she allied herself with that party. A policy of liberal and enlightened statesmanship, instead of political, if not personal, hatred and vengeance, after the war, would likely have produced a different state of affairs. I may concede that the South had its predilections and its prejudices, if you please. With some men, their prejudices are their principles; and some great man, Bismarck, I believe, has said, "the very essence of statesmanship is to consult the prejudices of the people."

In order to have fraternal feeling between individuals, or sections, or States, who have been at war, both sides must be *willing* to it. Are you quite sure the North has been willing?

Very respectfully,

W. J. SAMFORD.

### REPRESENTATIVE T. H. HERNDON.

THOMAS H. HERNDON is fifty-two years of age, and sits for the First Alabama District, which includes the city of Mobile. He is a native Alabamian, and a practicing lawyer. He graduated at the University of Alabama, and attended the law school of Harvard. He first appeared in politics in the Alabama Legislature, in 1837-38. He was a member of the Secession Convention of 1861, entered the Confederate army in vindication of his opinions, and reached the rank of colonel. He was wounded twice, and paroled May 13th, 1865. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, of the State Legislature, in the year following, and was elected to the Forty-sixth Congress as a Democrat, beating a Greenback opponent by 4,000 votes.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 22, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR:—I have felt some reluctance to reply to your several questions propounded some time since, but as they are propounded and answers to them are desired "in the interest of purer politics, better feeling at the North, and a better understanding of the South and her citizens," and as I greatly desire to do whatever I can toward the accomplishment of these results, I have concluded to give you my views as briefly as possible, and with the utmost candor.

Question 1.—"Has the carpet-bag influence been hurtful or helpful in your State, and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?"

This influence was hurtful in every way. The carpet-baggers, (and by these I mean the political adventurers who came into the South without any *bona fide* intention of becoming citizens, but simply to take advantage of the chaotic condition of the country, and seize upon the public offices and fatten upon their spoils,) together with their allies and instruments, the lately enfranchised negroes, for several years had complete control of every department of the Government of Alabama, and of every or nearly every county and city in the State. They had no sympathy whatever with the people, no concern for their welfare, no regard for their rights, no purpose to repair the wastes of war, and no desire to promote peace and harmony between the races. Their only purpose was to get possession of the machinery of the Government, and to employ it as vigorously as possible, and as rapidly, too, to plunder the Commonwealth and the people of what little the ill-fortunes of a long and devastating struggle had left them. Their policy was repression of the whites and encouragement of the negroes; and their deep-laid scheme was to inflame, to keep alive and aggravate in every way possible, by the most infamous strategies, the foulest lies, the most adroit misrepresentations and the most diabolical machinations, a bitter and unrelenting hate between the two races. Their success depended entirely upon making a wide separation between the blacks and whites, and of keeping the former beyond the reach of any influence which the latter, on account of the kind relations between them so recently existing, might exert over them. In this way the negroes were consolidated,—not upon any principle which they could comprehend, but by passion and hate and fear, which they could be made to feel, and it was in this way, too, and by these desperate adventurers, that the "color line," for which the South was so much denounced, was established. It became a necessity of self-preservation. In the union of the whites only was there peace and safety. I affirm to-day that but for the baleful influence of the carpet-baggers there never would have been any hostility between the races in Alabama, and that they would far sooner have adjusted themselves to their new relations with each other, greatly to the happiness and prosperity of both. But under the condition of things wickedly and purposely created by them, there was, during their reign, no prosperity of any kind in the State; no confidence and but little hope were felt, and distrust and alarm prevailed the whole community. As you can well imagine, with the passions of the people of both races thus actively excited, confronting each other in every avenue of life, there was much discord and turbulence in many parts of the State, and many lamentable conflicts occurred. But I here again affirm that nine-tenths of all the "outrages" and of all the riots, always greatly exaggerated, were instigated by these same "carpet-baggers" for their own benefit, for the purpose of making political capital, and to evoke from the President and Congress repressive action and legislation against the whites, that they might be maintained in power.

This carpet-bag regime was finally overthrown in 1874. The white people, by one of the most prodigious efforts that a despairing people ever made to relieve themselves of thralldom, in that year got possession of the State, and of nearly every county in it.

The "carpet-baggers," like the Arabs, "folded their tents and quietly stole away." As an evidence of what I have said, contrast the two periods; since the inauguration of Gov. Houston in 1874, down to this time, there has not been a riot or any serious political disturbance in the State; mutual confidence has been restored between the two races; peace and good order everywhere prevail; emigration has ceased; people have become contented, and fresh hope and prosperity are realized in every branch of business.

Naturally, under the state of things which I have described, there was no "educational, political, social or commercial prosperity;" there could be none. The carpet-bag influence operated like a deadly upon every energy and every hope of the people. It filled judicial stations with incompetent and, in many instances, venal judges, and the legislative halls with creatures who could be bought and sold like cattle in the market. It increased the debt of the State from about \$8,000,000 to over \$32,000,000, and loaded down every county and city in which it controlled to utter insolvency; and yet there is on the fair face of Alabama scarcely a trace to be found of the honest expenditure of one single cent of these vast sums of money in beautifying and improving her.

Question 2.—"Has this carpet-bag influence been fostered or opposed by State legislation and public opinion?"

This influence has all the time been opposed by the intelligent public opinion of the State; but during its sway was fostered by so-called legislation, and greatly stimulated, I may justly add, by the deftly construed, if not cunningly devised, laws of Congress.

Question 3.—"Have the carpet-baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the carpet-bagger?"

They had every chance to be honest, had they had the purpose to be so. It would perhaps, be better to say that, having all the machinery of government in their hands, and all the revenues of the people under their control, they had every opportunity to be dishonest, and they availed themselves voraciously of them. They were "more knaves than fools!"

Question 4.—"Is the carpet-bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?"

It is on the wane. After they lost the opportunities of plunder by the triumph of the Democratic party in 1874, the major part left the State for other fields, where, probably, they can more profitably exercise their peculiar aptitudes.

The few who remain are pensioned in Government offices, and have but little influence beyond what the patronage of their offices and the help of Republican Executive Committees give. They have lost their "grip" on the colored man, whom they have so often deceived by delusive promises and misled by false statements, and who realizes now the cruel hollowness of all their professions toward him, and regards them, as the whites do, as mere vote marauders, to be used only for their own profit and promotion.

Besides, there is growing up an antagonism between the carpet-bagger and the native Republican. The carpet-bagger is a selfish and self-seeking animal, and wants the "public crib" all to himself, and it would take it all to satiate his greed. He does not wish his monopoly of leadership in the South disturbed by the intrusion into the party of white native Republicans. The native, who generally is a disappointed Democrat, and goes into the Republican party with the hope and purpose of getting the spoils of office, understands this, and looks upon the carpet-bagger as *hostis humanis generis*, and especially his.

Question 5.—"Are the Northern Democrats a help or hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?"

They are certainly no hindrance. We affiliate with them because we agree on the fundamental ideas of the Government, and because they were in favor of securing to the South her Constitutional rights during her travail of reconstruction. We regard them as being influenced not so much, if at all, by any mere sympathy for us, as by a desire to bring the administration of the Government back within the just principles of the Constitution, and to this extent they regard us as their allies. The political and material prosperity of the South, we know, depend upon ourselves and the non-intervention of the General Government in our affairs, and to secure and maintain this, the South would be "solid," if there were no Northern Democrats. Nevertheless, we hope and believe that by a union with them we may yet be able to effect a change in the Administration which will redound to the general welfare, extinguish sectionalism, and bring about a genuine national unity and reconciliation.

Question 6.—"What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?"

There is, properly speaking, no "negro party." Except when specially organized by the handful of white Republicans in our midst, the negroes are a mere mass of enfranchised citizens, and, with a few exceptions, without political aim or intelligence. They have no interest in politics, unless they are made to believe that their freedom is involved, and to induce them to vote they are always told that this is endangered. Thousands of them, however, are getting over the delusion that the Southern people have any desire or any ability to re-enslave them, and are breaking away from the Republican party. It is found more difficult at each recurring election to get them to the polls, and especially to consolidate them; and if all influences addressed solely to their race feelings and prejudices were withdrawn, and they were left subject only to the appeals made to electors generally, in a few years they would be divided, as the whites divide, in their political connections.

Question 7.—"Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?"

I think not.

Question 8.—"What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?"

The errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power consist in no, following the policy of Mr. Lincoln, and bringing the seceded States back into the Union immediately after the cessation of war; afterwards in its cruel and repressive legislation; in its efforts to foist upon the South the rule of the carpet-bagger; by placing over it officials who were not only strangers to it, but enemies no less; by attempting to put it under the domination of the ignorant class; by distrusting the truth and honor of its people; by endeavoring to humiliate them; and by giving currency throughout the whole civilized world, and on its own endorsement, to the false and most atrocious libels upon their character and intentions.

Question 9.—"What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party, and the President-elect?"

Question 10.—"What does the South need from them?"

Question 11.—"What does the South expect to get from them?"

All the South would like to have from the Northern politicians, the Republican party, and the President-elect, is fair dealing, an honest judgment on its acts and intentions; confidence in the sincerity of her people in their purpose to abide by and support the Constitution and laws; "to be let alone," without their interference in her local and domestic affairs; to be treated as a component part of the Union, having the same guarantee of all of its rights as they are secured to other sections. She seeks no special legislation; she asks no special favors; she aspires to no other power in the Government than that which is necessary under the Constitution to protect her against hostile and ruthless legislation.

Alabama is opulent in natural resources. She only wishes the opportunity to develop them. She has a healthful and salubrious climate, under which industry and economy meet their full reward. She invites the good and enterprising of every section and land to come and enjoy it. She has a citizenship proud of her, who have the one supreme desire to lift her up to the height and grandeur of the greatest of her sisters.

She does not regard herself as the mere *ward*, and she knows she is not the *child*, of the General Government, to be cared for and nurtured by it. She, therefore, needs nothing else but the abstention of that Government, and especially of the Republican party and Northern politicians, from assuming to deal with her as if she were.

Judging the future by the past, even under the mild administration now so near its close, we have but little reason to expect anything of a Republican administration, in the way of a fair and liberal regard for us; but, nevertheless, in the simplicity of our long-trying faith, some do yet indulge the hope that the President-elect will enter upon his high office with his patriotism enlarged enough to embrace the whole country, and realizing that the people of Alabama are no less American citizens than are the people of Ohio.

Question 12.—"Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?"

In the main, I have no doubt of it.

Very respectfully,

THOS. H. HERNDON.

### VISITATIONS.

To heal the wounded beauty of my days  
And bind their broken music into song;  
To burn with the deep hatred of deep wrong  
And wend once more the old enchanted ways;  
To plead in holy passion, and to praise  
Brave deeds whereof my praises once were strong;  
To place myself where I of right belong,  
And this warped soul from shame to honor raise,—  
These are the hopes that flash across my life,  
Like summer lightning through the heart of night,  
When dewy Nature dreams upon her throne.  
Then silence and thick darkness end the strife,  
Till, one by one, those wearied hopes take flight,  
And I am left astonished and alone.

ALBERT EDMUND LANCASTER.

### MODERN FICTION. I.

#### ENGLISH FICTION.

IN classifying the various departments of literature, it has long been customary to range under the head of books of imagination poetry and novels, and the latter especially, by their very title of "fictions," would appear to be distinguished from the stern facts and realities of history. Yet this arrangement seems hardly adequate to much of the literature of the present day. Some names that commonly take rank among historians or narrators of facts, might more honestly be classed among writers of imagination; while more than one modern novelist might well, on grounds of conscientious fidelity and pains-taking veracity, dispute the claims of not a few reputable historians,—courtier, or clerical, or partisan annalists,—men who wrote to flatter a monarch, to justify a cause, to create or confirm a prejudice, with those suppressions, and half-lights, and half-truths, that are more fatal to truth itself than a downright lie.

Of all the departments of literature, fiction is most strongly impressed by the characteristics of the age to which it belongs. It deals



directly with the ordinary man and woman in the common relations of daily life. Its proper sphere is the near and the present, and the truths it expresses are truths that lie within the author's own experience. A novelist must study and depict human nature as embodied in the men and women among whom he lives, and must, therefore, necessarily reflect the habits of life, the modes of thought, the ideals, the standards and the prejudices of the period to which he belongs. The men and women he sees and knows are his legitimate material. He may group them, indeed, as he pleases, and throw upon them, to a greater or less degree, the picturesque light of his own imagination; but that the habits and ideals of the eighteenth century were other than those of the nineteenth, is nowhere so clearly demonstrated as in the novels of the respective periods. History is busy with the life of nations and States, and concerns itself with the individual only in so far as he belongs to the general community. It deals rather with aggregate results than with remote motives; more with results and their mutual and reflex action, than with the obscure causes that produce them. The subject-matter of poetry is more abstract still and still less conditioned by time or place. Its sphere is the ideal element in nature and man, and it appeals to the ideal in our sentiments. A man with a poetic imagination could feel to-day for a rose, a spring morning, or a beautiful woman, as Sir Philip Sydney felt for them; but there would probably be less unanimity of sentiment if they came to compare tastes in collars, or made-dishes, or the recreations in which dignity and amusement are compatible. Nature is, indeed, the great original masterpiece, before which all the arts kneel, and their province is not merely to imitate, but to interpret. It is in this very matter that genius makes itself most plainly manifest,—that it not only imitates nature, but it explains her. Every great poet and painter has seen in his subject something more than meets the ordinary, careless eye,—a suggestion, a mood, a sentiment,—and this he reproduces and emphasizes in his picture or poem, so that we may see with his finer eye and catch his deeper meaning. But interpretation is no less the function of fiction than of poetry or painting. A moralizing or didactic tone is objectionable in a novelist, because direct teaching is not the true province of art; but in every really good novel, we find that certain traits of human nature are firmly seized and so emphasized that we perceive in the portrait what in the original might have escaped our careless or superficial glance.

As correlatives imply each other, modern fiction reminds us, by exclusion, of the fiction of a former age, and it may be instructive to mark some of the most striking differences between them. The very position of fiction itself has been notably changed and elevated in the last hundred years. From being one of the least considered, it has risen to be one of the most highly esteemed and nobly developed branches of literature. In the eighteenth century novels were looked upon with suspicion and disapprobation, as merely an unprofitable mental relaxation, a pernicious source of entertainment and an unhealthy stimulus to the imagination of the young. Miss Burney, in the preface to "Evelina," thus apologizes for her profession:

"In the republic of letters there is no member of such inferior rank, or who is so much disdained by his brethren of the quill, as the humble novelist; nor is his fate less hard in the world at large, since among the whole class of writers perhaps not one can be named of which the votaries are more numerous but less reputable. . . . Perhaps, were it possible to effect the total extirpation of novels, our young ladies in general, and boarding-school damsels in particular, might profit by their annihilation; but since the distemper they have spread seems incurable, since their contagion bids defiance to the medicine of advice or reprehension, and since they are found to baffle all the mental art of physic, save what is prescribed by the slow regimen of time and the bitter diet of experience, surely all attempts to contribute to the number of those which may be read, if not with advantage, at least without injury, ought rather to be encouraged than condemned." This is a very modest attitude,—one which would hardly be assumed by any great modern master of fiction; and, indeed, to the public of the present the art of Thackeray, George Eliot and Trollope requires no such justification.

One of the most distinctive features of the modern novel is its resolute rejection of the marvellous or the unnatural as necessary elements of interest. There is manifested a firm determination to accept the common-places of life to their extreme extent, and to extract from them such poetry or pathos as they possess, and will yield to a master-hand. The traditional hero and heroine, whose lustrous and uncompromising virtues were at once the admiration and despair of their contemporaries, have vanished from the stage, and our interest and sympathies are claimed for persons of less formidable pretensions to excellence, whose faults are not heroic, but common weaknesses and ignoble failings. Miss Burney or Richardson would promptly have rejected as a candidate for the post of heroine such characters as Lady Mabel Grex or Gwendolen Harleth. And, indeed, it must be confessed that there is nothing very heroic in the conduct or situations of either of these young women. Both are beautiful and clever, but selfish, worldly, ambitious and false to their better instincts. The one, after driving from her side, on account of his poverty, the man whom she really loves, and trifling with

the man to whose title and estate she aspires, is reduced, as a last desperate effort, to offer herself to the young nobleman, and has the humiliation of being rejected by him, and then, in the bitterness of failure and disappointment, confesses to her former lover her unconquered passion, when his affections are engaged elsewhere. The other makes an ambitious match, and soon is brought to abhor her cold-blooded husband, and is only saved from a matrimonial scandal by the mysterious imperiousness and unsusceptibility of the man who has involuntarily taken hold of her imagination, and we see her finally consenting, if not actually accessory, to the death of her detested husband. This is certainly not the stuff of which old-time heroines were made. And yet all our sympathies go out toward these women who are the marrers of their own destinies, who, with careless hands, hopelessly tangle the threads of their lives. Their own egotism and ambition are the lions in the path, and they are exposed to no such machinations and villainies as beset the steps of a Cecilia, a Pamela or a Sophia Western.

George Eliot is, without doubt, the keenest and most powerful analyst of human nature that has ever embodied in fiction the results of an exhaustive study of mankind. Fielding had quick powers of observation, an abundant sense of humor, and dearly loved a laugh and jest at the expense of his fellow-man or woman; he had a delightful facility of narration, and has left us many life-like, well-characterized pictures of men and manners. But his own happy, pleasure-loving temperament was too far removed from cynicism, introspection, or an anxious morality, to make him a very subtle investigator of the many closely-twined threads that are woven into human action. Lady Mary Wortley Montague thus expresses her sorrow at the death of her kinsman, genial Harry Fielding: "I am sorry for his death," she says, "not only as I shall read no more of his writings, but because I believe he lost more than others, as no man enjoyed life more than he did . . . and I am persuaded he has known more happy moments than any prince upon earth. . . . He was so formed for happiness that it is a pity he was not immortal." Such a nature could not approach life in a very critical spirit; his heroes, like himself, are formed for happiness, and live much by their instincts, which are of a simple and direct kind, and easily gratified. They never distract themselves with morbid questionings, nor ask whether life is worth living, so numerous are the avenues by which pleasure finds ready access to their organisms.

To Thackeray life was a comedy, a puppet-show, a pantomime. He stands by and interprets and comments upon the play with a tenderness and cynicism, a geniality and bitterness, all his own. To George Eliot life was a drama, with much solemn meaning, and a constant tendency to turn to tragedy. Thackeray was master of human nature; George Eliot is alone in her analysis of the human heart, the innermost penetration of the consciousness of man, where the seeds of good and evil lie and slowly germinate. What distinguishes her above all her contemporaries, is her constant insistence on the complicated springs of human action, the infinitely mingled and intricate nature of human motive. Her studies in physics and metaphysics, in biology and philosophy, have given her an abiding sense of cause and effect, and a scientific manner of approaching psychological problems. In a highly civilized society primitive instincts manifest themselves curiously transformed. Sociologists tell us that the invention of dynamite and a knowledge of the properties of poisons are modifications of the instinct of self-preservation. The author of "Middlemarch" demonstrates pretty clearly that many of the actions that are popularly considered as most disinterested, admirable and creditable to the species, are but transmuted and refined forms of egotism. Perhaps the most complete piece of mental and moral analysis that she has ever achieved is contained in the first volume of "Daniel Deronda," in the character of Gwendolen Harleth. Here her fineness of perception and justness of inference are truly marvellous. All the workings of that complicated piece of machinery, the mind of a clever, beautiful girl of the nineteenth century, are presented to us as fully and clearly as in a mechanical diagram. The sources of the motive power, the means of its transformation into action, the mutual dependence of part upon part, and the relative importance of each, is demonstrated with wonderful detail and accuracy. It is a series of the subtlest mental processes presented to us with all the clearness and order of a sequence of tangible physical phenomena, and displays an insight and power of logical inference and vivid presentation that are unrivalled.

Fiction has become a very important instrument of education—one of the most potent though often unacknowledged factors in forming the standards and principles of young men and women. It presents, in a concrete, easily assimilated form, the practical results of certain courses of conduct, and is much more convincing and intelligible to the ordinary apprehension than the ingenious arguments in which Mr. Herbert Spencer demonstrates the various processes and conditions by which the primitive man constructed for himself a conscience and a system of morality, much as he showed in his "Principles of Biology" how the invertebrate animal gradually wriggled itself into a vertebrate. American life is particularly liable to a contracted horizon and a poisoned atmosphere, and a little sentiment infused into the mental vision is of great advantage. Sentiment can cast a beneficent halo over the most unpre-

possessing objects, as a dreary landscape wears a picturesque aspect through a Claude Lorraine glass. Sentiment, it is true, is often a little ridiculous to the unsympathetic observer, from the want of proportion frequently apparent between the intrinsic merit of the object and the feeling lavished upon it, as we often see a child lovingly and carefully dressing in her choicest scraps of silk a particularly ugly snub-nosed little doll; but it yields more solid satisfaction to the possessor than almost any other sensation, and has likewise the advantage of being a very inexpensive amusement, a great recommendation at a time when most of the pleasures of life are quite out of the reach of people of modest means.

There is a principle in human nature that leads it to rebel against direct control, but to be easily susceptible to indirect influences; and many a man is more indebted to Thackeray than to his catechism for a refined perception of the morally good and beautiful, and a chivalrous conception of conduct.

## LITERATURE.

### THE METTERNICH MEMOIRS.

WE confess frankly to a great liking for Prince Clement von Metternich, whom it is so fashionable to denounce and ridicule. People of the present day, and notably believers in Republican ideas, can have little sympathy with the absolutism of which he was the ablest champion; but it is impossible not to admire the consistency, integrity and ability of the man, and his place in history as the foremost representative of Europe in its death-struggle with Napoleon is assured. There were few cooler and more accurate observers of that most intricate and fascinating of games—politics; and it may be doubted whether there ever lived a prophet whose predictions were more frequently and strikingly verified by long-subsequent events. Even where he was wrong in his appreciations,—and the remaining volumes of his memoirs will contain some notable instances of error in this respect,—the result was one which at some earlier period he had foreseen. It is the custom to regard his unshrinking and unaccommodating fidelity to principle as an evidence of sterility, but we challenge the accuracy of such a judgment. To be sure, when a man represents an idea,—and especially a conservative idea,—much of his work is done for him in advance, much of his labor saved, even if it is at the expense of his reputation for fertility and versatility. And we do not rank Metternich with the greatest statesman of modern times—Cavour; nor with the next greatest—Bismarck. The suppleness and brilliancy of the great Italian who

"bore up his Piedmont ten years,  
Till she suddenly smiled and was Italy."

were beyond the Austrian diplomatist; nor had he the audacious inconsistency of the Prussian Chancellor. Bismarck's immense luck has blinded the world to the rashness of many of his enterprises. It was the opportune death of the King of Denmark which decided for him the direction of his career. Though it was a sublime accomplishment to force the Austrian war upon an unwilling king and a reluctant people, if the advice of the late M. Drouyn de Lhuys had been followed on the morrow of Sadowa, Prussia would not have reaped the harvest of 1866. The French Opposition helped him to prepare for the victory of 1870, but even there he played a risky game; for France had negotiated a secret treaty with Italy and Austria, and all was staked on the overwhelming defeat of the French armies within the first month of the campaign. Bismarck's successor—especially now that Alexander III. sits on the Russian throne—will be better able to judge of Bismarck's success than contemporary and superficial critics. Bismarck may be called a devotee of "draw-poker" diplomacy. Cavour was rather an accomplished whist-player of the modern school, brilliant in *finesse* and able to play the *grand coup* on occasion. Metternich was like an old-fashioned whist-player, steady and safe, rather than dashing, and convinced of the truth of the adage that one must be sure of saving the game before he plays to win it. In patience and practicality, he was unrivalled by any of his contemporaries. Talleyrand's imperturbable temper and chronic aversion to activity always stood him in good stead—he was the most consummate exponent of the policy of Lord Melbourne, whose favorite *mot*, when confronted by an awkward issue, was, "Can't you do nothing in the matter?" Unlike Talleyrand, but like Cavour, Metternich always acted with a view to the future. He saw in 1805 that Napoleon had overstepped the limits of the possible, and must, ultimately, fall, and that all Austria needed to do was to let the situation develop itself, and stand prepared to profit by the inevitable catastrophe. By 1810, he had found that Napoleon meditated a supreme war with Russia, and being convinced that it would be an exhausting conflict, prepared Austria to bid the peace at its conclusion. When Napoleon was defeated, and the time was ripe to join the Coalition, Metternich was careful to eliminate from the calculation the last chance of failure, or even disadvantage; and by what Bismarck would call "dilatatory negotiations," after the battle of Bautzen, he gained time to perfect the alliance and bring Schwarzenberg's army safely into the field. But once embarked in the great enterprise, Metternich never turned back. Mme. de Krüdener's prophecy of Napoleon's return from Elba made her fortune. Metternich had declared, when reluctantly signing the Treaty of 1814, that it would bring the allies back into the field within two years, and all the other signers, including even the French Envoy, agreed with him. It was curious how exactly his estimate of Napoleon agreed with that of Mme. de Rémusat—it is even more singular that in weighing and describing other persons whom they met, the Austrian diplomatist and the French lady in waiting should have been singularly in accord,—and the wonder grows that historians and publicists for a whole generation after Napoleon's

death should have so conspired to misappreciate the man who to Metternich, Talleyrand, de Staël, Mme. de Rémusat, his intimate associates, even to his official superiors in early life, was as a written book, plainly to be read. Metternich's creed will be found in the second chapter of his autobiography, but his system had one defect. There was no man in Europe who could more accurately gauge men or a situation. Given a number of nations, with certain interests and means, he could almost infallibly predict the action each would take, and the ultimate result. But his system was only equal to nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand, as we shall see conspicuously when the concluding volumes dealing with the affairs of 1848 are published. The thousandth case is the critical one, and its existence is only admitted and prepared for by the great genius like Cavour or Bismarck. Metternich, as we know from the recently published letters to Count Prokesch-Osten, believed, late in life, that Italy would remain a geographical expression, and that German unity under Prussian headship was not possible. And yet Metternich, while Cavour was a boy in his teens, had observed that Sardinia was a menace and danger to Austria; before Bismarck was born, he had noticed the intensity of the national feeling in Germany when it was once aroused, he had pointed out the right road for the Prussian revolutionist to take was to demand German unity, and he predicted that when he died Austria and Prussia would cease to be friends. He could see what might happen, but could not bring himself to believe that it would happen. Cavour and Bismarck saw and believed.

It is not saying too much to say that the volumes before us ("Memoirs of Prince Metternich, edited by his son"—Volumes I., II., III., IV., 1773 to 1829), are the most important contribution that has yet been made by any single individual to the history of the Napoleonic era, while they add greatly to our knowledge of the conqueror himself. From the lower point of view, regarded as collections of anecdotes and personal traits, they hardly yield to Mme. de Rémusat's delightful memoirs. The reader most prejudiced against Metternich cannot fail to be pleased with the lucidity and dignity of his style, and the weight of thought and observation revealed in every chapter. Of course, the world has lost much of its interest in the politics of the almost archaic period following Waterloo and preceding the Revolution of July, important as it was. But even the chapters devoted to politics will repay reading, while there is a wealth of reminiscences and indications of the character of a man as lovable as accomplished.

Of his own ability and importance, Metternich had a due sense. "I have become a species of moral power in Germany," he says in one letter to his wife,—and, perhaps, even in Europe,—a power which will leave a void when it disappears." "I shall be regretted by many of the great and good," he says, in another letter, "and execrated by those who are neither. The standpoint from which I have thought and acted is of such a height that my name remains identified with great events." And yet again, "I feel the world resting on my shoulders. If I should deceive myself for a moment, I am brought to recollection by the arrival of some courier with the declaration, 'What will you do?' They say: 'We have confidence only in you—our fate is in your hands; what shall we do?' That is the substance of all the dispatches which arrive, and two-thirds of the questioners are always ready to perpetrate some folly, because they have neither spirit nor courage." And after a conversation with Alexander, who, he says, "is now at the point where I was thirty years ago," he adds, "I see how easily it might happen to me, in case I were a radical or a demagogue, to prostrate the mighty ones of this world." His heart was bound up in his family, and his only complaint concerning public life was that it removed him from his well beloved ones. "I always spent the time from 9 to 10 o'clock," he writes, "with my wife and my children; that hour was happiness to them; to me it was a consolation. I have made this sacrifice, also." "If ever you meet with a really ambitious man,—and they are rare;—send him to me. I will talk with him for a couple of hours, and he will be cured for some time." His father, when dying, would not send for the Chancellor, then absent. "My son is doing his duty," the old man said; "I can give him my blessing as well at a distance." He was passionately fond of art, music, sunlight and fresh air, and describes pleasantly his habits,—how he had a library of some 15,000 volumes, with Canova's Venus in the centre, a study full of works of art, and all kinds of instruments, and a bed-room filled with portfolios of engravings. "When my children are good, their mother, as a reward, brings them to pay me a short visit. I cannot flatter myself that they come so gladly from love to me. It seems to them just like a market, for my rooms are very similar to shops." Just before her death, his idolized daughter, Clementine, said to her mother, as he went out of the room: "Don't you think it must do any one good to see papa? He looks so gentle and calm, that I cannot understand how it is that some people are afraid of him; as for me, I always think he makes me well and happy." Lawrence painted the portrait of this beautiful child, refusing to accept payment for the work. "I painted Clementine," said the artist, "for the love I bear her father, her mother, all her family,—and for self-love, too." The girl was so beautiful that the people would gather round her in the streets, and so modest and unconscious that she always fancied that their curiosity had been aroused by some peculiarity or disarrangement of her toilet. Metternich tells us how he was summoned to the last consultation of doctors at her bed-side from an interview with a plenipotentiary, who was surprised because the Chancellor dismissed him without discussing the question of the Rhine tolls. He was a great reader, generally reading himself to sleep, but confining his choice to scientific books, discoveries and travels. "Novels I never read unless they have become classics." There is a delicious letter to von Collin, whom he had appointed editor of the *Fahrbücher der Literatur*. "The criticism of the journal," he wrote, "may be divided into two parts. To the political part, I will myself attend; the literary and scientific part will be entrusted to one who was well known when President of the Chief Court of Police!" Metternich had his doubts whether society could exist with the liberty of the press, which



he described as a "scourge." Yet, he contributed articles to the *Journal des Débats*, at Paris—Napoleon, by the way, was a paragrapher, and was abominably sensitive, and Louis XVIII. had a notable plan for suppressing all papers except official journals—and after 1848 blamed Austria for not having made more use of the press in explaining and defending her action. Of the great wealth of the Metternichs, there is a curious incidental mention in April, 1820: "I have estates which I have never seen, and among them some which I hear travellers describe as paradises—among others a castle on the Lake of Constance which gives a panorama of Switzerland. I have only once staid a night at the castle, and then I arrived at eight in the evening, and had to leave again at four in the morning." He did not see the famous estate of Johannesberg till he was forty-five. For the pleasures of the table he had no particular fancy, though he appreciated good wine and good cookery, as a diplomatist should; he had an especial fondness for tea. Like Talleyrand, he was fond of whist, but he was a much better player than his French *confrère*, (who was addicted to *finessing* and false cards,) and played in a princely style. During the conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, he made one of a mighty party of "men who do not find themselves depressed or even incommoded by the loss of a good round thousand or so," the set preceding Earl Granville's day, who, it may be remembered, lost £5,000 one night, by forgetting the seven of hearts, and rose from another sitting of eighteen hours £8,000 out of pocket, and leaving the floor ankle-deep with cards. We shall only add a couple of personal traits. His courage was of the highest sort. When threatened with assassination, he wrote, "If the rascal does not come behind me, he will get such a box on the ear as he will long remember;" and when a thief entered his room at night, he lay perfectly still till the intruder approached the bed, then jumped out upon the astonished burglar, threw him out of the window, and went back to bed—a feat to be expected of one who, as a boy of seven, had nearly killed a playmate who had undertaken to frighten him by appearing as a ghost in a dark passage.

In a future article, we shall lay before our readers some of Metternich's judgments and descriptions of his contemporaries. We may conclude this notice by saying that these "Memoirs" have been published in a model form—with large type, good paper, ample margins, everything, in fact, that a book should have, but which American books too frequently lack. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.)

MR. H. G. HEGGVEIT of Christiania has conceived the happy idea of teaching young Norwegians the geography of their own and their two neighbor countries, not by formal text-books of geography, but an anthology of descriptive passages from the best authors of each. His *Fra Nordens Nature og Folkeliv* (Kristiania, Forlagt af Alb. Cammermeyer,) is a handsome volume of 547 large octavo pages, with 39 wood engravings of landscapes and edifices, and 14 portraits of authors. The extracts are chiefly in prose, and the number of authors quoted would surprise those who know little or nothing of the vigorous development of Norwegian literature during the middle decades of the century. Of course Bjornsen and Ibsen stand at the head of the list; but here also are Munch, the great master of Norse antiquities; Jonas Lie, already known to American readers as a novelist; Asbjornsen, the Northern Grimm, the unwearied collector of Norse folk-lore from the mouths of the people; Eilert Sundt, who made a European name for himself by his investigation of the life and manners of the Norwegian Gipsies and other tramps; Jorgen Moe, the good pastor, whose poems and tales are dear in all Norse farmsteads; and many others less known outside of their own country. The Norwegian part of the book (pp. 9-391) is divided into four portions: a general oversight, the eastern, the western and the northern districts. A foreign reader will be most attracted by the passages which describe the peculiar features of Norwegian life. Such are Jorgen Moe's account of a peasant's wedding (*Bondebryllup*); his poem and the papers and poems of other authors on life in the *Soeters*, or mountain dairies; Sundt's on the isolated colony of Finns on the Swedish border in the South of Norway; Jacob Sverdrup's on the Lapps. Norwegian literature lends itself to such a selection, for the Norsemen are proud of their beautiful country, and the book will awaken tender memories in the heart of many an emigrant on the western prairies. The woodcuts are vigorous, but not so fine as our American eyes now demand. Perhaps the most interesting is the picture of the very old and curious wooden church at Borgund in Laerdal, which has stood the weather of the far North for centuries. There must have been a great number of such churches in Norway, but they have been replaced by commonplace edifices of stone, and the old and beautiful wood carving in many churches is so little valued that it is suffered to rot away for want of care. The cathedral at Throndheim, illustrated by an internal and external view, is probably the northmost as Milan is the southmost point reached by Gothic architecture.

The part of the book devoted to Sweden and Finland (pp. 392-488,) is in Swedish, articles by even Danish writers, such as Hammerich and Andersen, being given in that language. We meet again names which ought to be familiar to every student of European literature—Runeberg, Geiger, Franzén, Miss Bremer, Carlen, Topelius, and Lönnrot, the last two being a Finnish novelist and an antiquarian. To those who love outlandish people, this portion will have an especial interest, as dealing so much with the Finns and the Lapps. Denmark and its dependencies complete the work, and are, of course, described in Danish, and for the most part by Danish writers. As most readers know, the long connection between Denmark and Norway caused Danish to be accepted as the literary language of the latter country; and even the linguistic revolution begun by Bjornsen, while largely nationalizing the Norwegian vocabulary, would not make any change so great as to prevent the master of either language from reading the other. And since Ehlerschlager and Grundtvig laid the foundations of a new Danish literature, the country has had a noble list of good poets, antiquaries, theologians, and so forth. We find here Andersen, Christian Winter, Grundtvig, and others

less known to foreign readers. If any of our readers should incline to the study of these young and vigorous literatures, through the only medium by which there is full access to them, we cannot commend to them a better reading book than Mr. Heggveit's anthology.

Dr. Ludvig Daae has been looking up the history of emigration from Norway to Holland and England in modern times (*Normands Udvandring til Holland og England i nyere tid*; Kristiania, Forlagt af Alf. Cammermeyer), as a contribution to the history of navigation. His little book shows that the Dutch trade with Norway for lumber drew a good number of Norsemen into the service of her merchant marine; that there was quite a colony of them in Amsterdam. This emigration of sailors lasted during the eighteenth century, in spite of the prohibitions issued by the Danish rulers of Norway. In later times, when the English succeeded the Dutch as the chief naval power in Europe, the Norse turned their services in that direction. There were Norse colonies in London and in Dublin, a Norse Church in the former, and a Norwegian society.

THE WELDED LINK, and other poems, by Judge J. F. Simmons of Mississippi, is a volume of verse which it was a great mistake to publish, as the author, indeed, seems himself to suspect, since he devotes a four-page preface to a defence of his undertaking. After such a preface, the reader finds just what he expected,—doggerel, abortive sentiment, the stalest poetic imagery, and absolutely no poetry. It is disagreeable to say it, but Carlyle's remark to an English author applies precisely to this book: "What you have been saying is the veriest trash, such as makes the heart of man sick to listen to." And truly nothing in American literature is more sickening, and nothing more frequently brings the blush of shame and indignation to one's face than the thought of the swarm of idiotically infatuated pseudo-American poets that democracy is hatching in these days. No ridicule and no criticism can be too harsh, if it in any way serves to abate this nuisance, and save these often valuable members of society from the terrible waste of time involved in composing this pseudo-poetry. There is one little poem in this collection which is really pretty and pathetic,—the one entitled "The Little Faded Dress," but there are a thousand school girls who could have written it, and it cannot float a volume of doggerel. (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1881. Pp. 264.)

AN EASY ALGEBRA for beginners, by Charles S. Venable, LL.D., is a little work "designed for the use of those for whom the high school (elementary) Algebra may be too difficult." The book is handsomely bound and printed, and the author's reputation makes other commendation of it unnecessary. (University Pub. Co., New York. 1881. Pp. 157.)

KEITH, OR, RIGHTED AT LAST, is a skilfully constructed piece of society fiction; a love story which the novel reader will find to possess interest. It has, however, little more claim to merit than have a series of good pier-mirrors in a drawing-room—it only passively reflects. (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1881. Pp. 308.)

#### AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS.

GEO. H. ELLIS, of Boston, has in press a new volume by the Rev. Minot J. Savage, "Belief in God," including nine sermons already printed in *Unity Pulpit* and widely circulated in pamphlet form.

When publishers fall out, readers profit. The competition between Scribner and Harper has brought Carlyle's "Reminiscences," in cloth, down to fifty cents.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, have added a fifth volume to Max Muller's "Chips from a German Workshop," which includes the best of his recent writings. They have also in press St. George Mivart's book, "The Cat."

In noticing the "Life and Letters of John H. Raymond," in last week's AMERICAN, mention was omitted of the publishers—Messrs. Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York.

In *Notes and Queries* will shortly be published a series of hitherto unpublished letters by Dr. Johnson.

The first two volumes of Gardiner's "Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I." are in press. They contain a fuller account of the two contending political parties than has yet appeared, and a more searching investigation into the court intrigues of the time, much new material having been derived from the dispatches of foreign ambassadors.

The third volume of Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" has been completed.

"Endymion" did not pay, and Lord Beaconsfield offered to return the money given him by the publishers—Longmans—and place his contract on the half profit system. The publishers, not to be outdone in generosity, insisted that the original agreement should stand.

The death of a great author is the inevitable signal for a revival of interest in that author's works, a fact which publishers do not always appreciate. The demand for "George Eliot's" books continues beyond the ability of the English publishers to supply, and at one Circulating Library in London there were over a thousand applicants in one week for "Adam Bede."

The new work on which Lord Beaconsfield is engaged is not his autobiography, but a sort of sequel to "Endymion."

M. H. Wallon, the well-known historian and statesman, has produced the first two volumes of a five-volumed work, "History of the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris, with the Journal of its Acts," which is designed to be his *magnum opus*. The volumes just

published begin with the organization of the Tribunal of the 17th of August, and include among their contents the trials of Charlotte Corday, Marie Antoinette, the Girondists, Philippe Egalité, Mme. Roland, Bailly, Manuel, &c.

The third volume of Taine's great work on the French Revolution is in press. It will be called, "The Jacobin Conquest."

Within the next six weeks, will be published at Paris, the first part of the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*," undertaken by the commission obtained by Renan in 1867. It will include all inscriptions in the Phœnician, Hebrew, Aramæan, Palmyrian, Ethiopian and Himarayite languages, excluding the cuneiform inscriptions, even when they express a Semitic tongue, and the Cypriote inscriptions, which express a Greek dialect by a writing derived from the cuneiform characters. All the inscriptions will be translated into Latin and fully explained, and this monumental work will roll back a great cloud from the face of Oriental antiquity.

As was announced long ago in THE AMERICAN, the first part of the Talleyrand memoirs will be published this spring. It will appear simultaneously at Paris and London, and will contain the correspondence between Talleyrand and Louis XVIII., during the Congress of Vienna, and his pen-portraits of his fellow-plenipotentiaries. The memoirs, however, are not published by the Talleyrand family, but by M. Pallain, who found them in the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The publication of George Sand's last story "Albine," has been begun in the *Nouvelle Revue* of Paris. The story is told in letters, a form which admits of extended psychological studies, if it impedes the action. The heroine, Albine, does not appear till the second part; but she is indicated as a young *danseuse*, innocent and sensible, with whom a young architect has been madly in love. The architect has just been taken into the employ of the rich Duke Flaminien d'Autremont, who is aristocratic and meditative, and has lived the life of a hermit since the tragical death of his gay and provoking young wife. The liberal, practical, progressive architect, and the melancholy and conservative aristocrat, furnish an excellent contrast, and the book is in George Sand's best style.

The second and last volume of Prosper Mérimée's letters to Panizzi was published at Paris on the 4th inst. We propose to review this singularly fascinating history of the inside life of the Second Empire, in THE AMERICAN.

Maitre Rousse, who succeeds to Jules Favre's chair, will be received into the bosom of the French Academy on the 7th of April. This clever lawyer, who was elected as a protest against the policy of the Republic, will first eulogize his predecessor, who favored that policy, and then the Duke of Aumale will eulogize Me. Rousse's works—none of which have ever been published. The Academy now boasts its full complement of forty members, something not known for several years; but in the inevitable course of circumstances its ranks must soon be broken by death.

The Princess Elizabeth of Roumania is to be added to the list of royal authors, having published at Leipzig, under the name of "*Carmen Sylwia*," a volume of German translations from the Roumanian.

Leo XIII. has authorized the publication of nearly 9,000 letters and historical documents from the Vatican library, relating to the Pontificate of Innocent IV. (1243-1254).

The Congregation of the Index has just condemned seven philosophical works, one of which was published in France, while two were of Belgian and four of Italian origin. Three of these last were from the pen of Terenzio Mamiani. One of the volumes now denounced as pernicious was published in 1869.

A poetical competition has been opened in London to celebrate the forthcoming centenary of Calderon. Writers are invited to contribute narrative or lyrical poems in English, without any restrictions being imposed as to length and metre, before the 8th of April. Mr. Lowell, who is one of the judges, will receive contributions from American poets. The two prizes are a gold medal and an effigy of Calderon.

In China literary property is on the same footing as any other property. A person printing and selling the works of an author without his permission, is liable to a punishment of 100 blows of the bamboo and three years' deportation. If he has stopped short at printing and has not begun to sell, the penalty is 50 blows, together with the forfeiture of books and blocks from which it is intended to print.

There has recently been published at Gotha a small collection of letters exchanged in 1860 between the Prince Regent of Prussia (now Emperor of Germany,) and Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria. The principal subject of the letters is the Italian policy of Napoleon III. The Emperor William alludes in the letters to the danger involved in Napoleon's policy of making Savoy part of the geographical frontier of France, and predicts that in case of success in this respect, the eyes of the French Government would not fail to be turned longingly toward the Rhine—a prediction sadly verified.

Some English bibliophiles have formed a society called the Index Society. Its object is to encourage good indexing of books. The society already numbers more than 100 members. The honorary secretary has published a learned and very curious little volume of 96 pages entitled "What Is An Index? A Few Notes on Indexes and Indexers" (1877, 8vo.). This little monograph contains a special English bibliography of the subject, *Indexing*. It appears that a hundred separate works on the subject have been written in English alone.

### DRIFT.

—The Paris *Figaro* of the 20th devotes something over six columns to a description of the performance by the Philadelphia minstrels of "Sarah Heartburn," in the presence of Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt, the reporter even translating a "stump speech" into choice French.

—General Noyes, our Minister at Paris, said a very neat thing the other day when a host of people pestered him to obtain invitations for them to Mrs. Mackay's grand entertainment. "Ladies," said the Minister, firmly, "Mr. Mackay is an American citizen, and it is my duty to protect him."

—Such is fame! Only a few days ago, Congress was crowded to hear eloquently told the old and ever new story of the privateer General Armstrong. The sword presented to her heroic commander, Samuel Chester Reid, was recently, and probably still is, for sale at a second-hand store on the Bowery, in New York.

—Whittier is an unlucky man in the matter of historical poems. He has made honorable amends to Skipper Flud Oireson, and every one knows that his fine ballad of "Barbara Frietchie" is not by any means an accurate presentation of facts; and now, in his "King's Missive,"—the message sent to Endicott by King Charles, through Shattuck—he represents Endicott as having Shattuck's hat struck off, whereas, in point of fact, the Governor received the King's command with the simple remark that it should be obeyed, while whatever amelioration was made in the condition of the Friends, was made through the feeling and convictions of the colonists, rather than through the intervention of the king.

—Carlyle held the most decided views on the subject of indexes for books. And the irony of Fate therefore ordered that Mr. Froude should bring out the old man's "Reminiscences" without an index!

—Talking of Carlyle, and of the oceans of "gush" that have been written and spoken about his conversation, the *Pull Mall Gazette* remarks, after reciting a very impressive passage from the *Cornhill Magazine*: "Yet, of all these 'solemn passages,' 'grotesque phrases' and 'thundering denunciations,' neither the writer in the *Cornhill*, nor any other scribe in newspaper or magazine review, recalls one for the instruction of the vast public, which never was privileged to enter 'the little house in Chelsea.' The fact is curious, but true—and perhaps significant."

—Hugo's eightieth birth-day provoked a vast deal of sentimental sputtering from his countrymen. The Minister of Instruction paid the old poet a novel but characteristic form of honor, by ordering all the principals of the Lycées in France and Algeria to remit all pending punishments. Paul Musurus Bey, son of the Turkish ambassador at London, sent him a really fine, though rather adulatory, sonnet, likening him to Mont Blanc. And when he appeared in the Senate, the members of the Left and Centre rushed forward to cheer and embrace him, after which the presiding officer said: "True genius has taken its seat among us. The Senate has applauded, and now proceeds to its order of the day." The members of the Right declined to join in the demonstration, though Hugo has been in his day a Royalist and an Imperialist, even as Rochefort began his literary career with a hymn to the Virgin, and Louise Michel with an ode of lamentation on the murder of an Archbishop of Paris.

—The Hugo celebration had, inevitably, its ludicrous features. Probably the funniest thing connected with it was the poem presented by the students of Albi, who alluded gracefully to the "mystery" of his initials—"Victor like Virgil and Hugo like Homer." This reminds one irresistibly of the toast offered by a much-impressed admirer of the bard, "I drink to Victor Hugo, so worthy of that great name!"

—The *St. James's Gazette* speaks of an article in *Harper's* as "Yankee Notions in Dress," and alludes to its author repeatedly as "Maria R. Oakley." If an American paper were to speak of an article in *Blackwood* or the *Edinburgh* as representing "cockney notions," and allude to its author as Maggie W. Oliphant, how the *St. James's Gazette* would gibe and scold! It was this same paper which recently declared that the spirit and thought of England were best represented by such conservative constituencies as Oxford and Canterbury—which happened to be engaging the attention of Royal Commissions at precisely that time, because of their flagrant corruption!

—An advertisement appeared in a French newspaper to the following effect: "A young man of twenty-seven, who is about to marry, would be happy to meet a man of experience who would be able to dissuade him from taking so desperate a resolution."

—In a very entertaining book entitled "The Truth About the Iron Mask," M. Theodore Lung devotes a *piquant* chapter to a study of the formation of the legend of the iron mask. Its real creator is the Chevalier de Mouchy, who, in a romance several times reprinted during the last century, gives to his hero and heroine masques of steel, and transports them to a desert island, where the heroine gives birth to two infants. These grow up without seeing the faces of their parents, until a day when, during an awful tempest, crack! the electric fluid breaks the steel visors of the father and mother!

—The Italian Parliament recently devoted two entire sittings to debates over the Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate into the condition of libraries in the kingdom. The case in dispute is the *Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele*. This library is of recent origin, and was formed by the union of all the libraries once owned by the suppressed religious corporations. Now, several works bearing the stamp of this Victor Emmanuel Library have been found in different public and private libraries. The Commissioners discovered that the directors of the library had sold as old paper, and at a price of from three to eight cents per volume, more than 25,000 pounds of books and MSS. The blame for this rests with the Minister of Public Instruction; and Signor Borigè, the celebrated publicist, and Minister of Public Instruction in the last Cabinet, has published a very long discourse, in which he tries to prove that the books sold were all doubles. But it is certain that among the books sold were many precious works,—among others a copy of the *Processo degli Autori di Milano*, a real bibliographical rarity. This trouble in Italy reminds one of the wise rule adhered to by the Harvard College Library, *i. e.*, to preserve *everything* sent them, no matter how useless it now appears.

—Two Paris *savants*, M. Bertin and M. Duboscq, have at length, by means of the electric light, satisfactorily explained the hitherto mysterious Chinese mirrors, called *magic mirrors*. These mirrors are of bronze, one of the faces polished and convex, and the other slightly concave, and ornamented by figures in relief. If a ray of the sun strikes on the polished surface, and is reflected upon a white screen, the *images* on the reverse side of the mirror are seen. Since 1844, a great many theories have been propounded to account for this singular phenomenon. But MM. Bertin and Duboscq have shown all metallic mirrors may be rendered magical by means simply of warmth or pressure. This is shown by directing the electric light upon such mirrors.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## MR. SCHURZ AND THE PONCAS.

PHILADELPHIA, February 28, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

SIR: I have been watching with much interest the discussion concerning Secretary Schurz and the Poncas, and have been exceedingly desirous of getting at the truth; but there seem to me many puzzling things about the matter, which no paper has cleared up. In almost everything I have read with reference to Mr. Schurz, even in papers which profess to take a calm, non-partisan view of men and measures, there has seemed to me to be an unaccountable *animus* against the Secretary, or a strong partisan feeling in his behalf. It has seemed to me that THE AMERICAN has shown an over-zeal in condemning the Secretary and defending his opponents. Is it asking too much of you to state your grounds for some of the sweeping statements upon page 294 (February 19)? You speak of the series of blunders of which Mr. Schurz has been guilty, and say:

1. "There was the original wrong of the removal in violation of law, for which he was, it is not unjust to say, solely responsible."

Now, if I am rightly informed, what you say here is not simply "unjust," but grossly untrue. If my information is at fault, I should like to be set right.

(a.) Is it not true that in 1868 a treaty was made by which the Ponca Reservation was ceded to the Sioux?

(b.) In 1876 (August), Mr. Chandler being Secretary, did not Congress pass a law ordering the removal of the Poncas to the Indian Territory, subject to their consent?

(c.) Did not Mr. Kemble, Indian Inspector, in January, 1877, get the consent, or claim to have gotten it, of the Poncas to this removal?

(d.) Had not the removal of the Poncas already been begun, in acc. with this law of Congress, when Mr. Schurz received his portfolio?

If these are facts, how can you say that the removal was "in violation of law," and that Mr. Schurz was "solely responsible" for it?

But you say:

2. "There was the persistent resistance of every project to right the wrong, by restoring the Indians to their own."

(a.) Was not Mr. Schurz the first one to discover that wrong had been done, and to call the attention of the country to the fact?

(b.) Did he not, in his first report, in December, 1877, explain the wrong that had been done, and call upon Congress to compensate the Poncas for it?

(c.) Did he not reiterate this in his report of 1878, and again in 1879, in yet stronger terms, urging Congress to new legislation in behalf of the injured tribe?

(d.) Did Mr. Dawes, in any of these years, say a word about the wrongs of the "Red Man"? [This, by the way, is irrelevant.]

Upon what grounds, then, do you charge Mr. Schurz with "persistent resistance of every project to right the wrong"?

Your other points I will not refer to.

Now, all partisanship for or against Mr. Schurz aside, isn't his position just this: That it is better, now that the Poncas have been removed, have been where they are for some time, and are getting comfortably on, to compensate them liberally for the wrong they suffered, and keep them where they are, rather than to subject them to the trials of a new removal? Isn't it simply a question as to what policy is best under the circumstances as they now are, and not as they would, could, or should have been, if certain lines had been followed in the past, rather than the ones which actually were pursued?

Of course, one may think a different line of policy preferable from that the Secretary espouses; but may he not do that without impugning the motives of a man who, in public life, has kept himself as clean and irreproachable as Mr. Schurz, or without comparing this gentleman with Pontius Pilate?

Believe me, my only object in writing this is a desire to get at the truth. I should be greatly obliged if you would favor me with an answer.

Your constant reader,

C. R. W.

Our correspondent's way to get at the whole truth of the Ponca business is to obtain and read the documents upon the subject, and for his information we will give him a brief list. (1) Report on the Removal of the Ponca Indians, by the Senate Select Committee on the Removal of the Northern Cheyennes, with the testimony; a volume of between 500 and 600 pages, printed last June, by order of the Senate. (2) Report of the Commission appointed by the President to visit the Ponca Indians, with the testimony taken by the Commission, printed by order of the Senate in February last. (3) Testimony taken by the Senate Select Committee during the last session of Congress; lately printed. (4) Speech of H. L. Dawes in the Senate, February 11, 1881. These, with the reports of the Secretary of Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the last Administration, will enable him to come to a judgment of the truth, and they are not characterized by the spirit which he has noticed as a feature of the unofficial controversy on either side.

He has proposed to us a series of inquiries, the answers to which he seems to think, if they are what he supposes they must be, will vindicate the Secretary's course. The trouble with this sort of vindication is that it does not take account of all the facts and circumstances of the case. However, we will give such answer as our space permits.

With regard to the responsibility of Secretary Schurz for the removal of the Poncas, he asks these questions:

(a.) Is it not true that in 1868 a treaty was made by which the Ponca Reservation was ceded to the Sioux?

Yes; but it is also true that the cession was of no effect, because the Ponca Reservation did not belong to the Government, having been "ceded and relinquished" to the Poncas, for considerations specified, as absolutely as the lands granted to the Pacific railroad companies were ceded to them, and the United States had covenanted to protect them in possession of it forever. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his report for 1878, says: "The negotiators had no right whatever to make the cession." He characterizes it as a "blunder." If the State of Pennsylvania had ceded a farm to which Mr. Williams had a warranty deed from the State, to somebody else by a blunder, he would hardly think that blunder on the part of the State justified the State in forcing him to go and live in a particular place in which he did not want to live.

(b.) In 1876 (August), Mr. Chandler being Secretary, did not Congress pass a law ordering the removal of the Poncas to the Indian Territory, subject to their consent?

No. Congress ordered nothing in the premises. Whether to remove them or not, even if they were willing to go, was a matter entirely within the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. The language of the statute is:—

"That the Secretary of the Interior may use of the foregoing amounts the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars for the removal of the Poncas to the Indian Territory, and providing them a home therein, with the consent of said band."

Subsequently fifteen thousand dollars were added to the appropriation, and the whole sum was expended in compelling the Indians to go when they did not consent, and before any home was provided for them there. They were driven out of comfortable homes, leaving behind beds, stoves and other furniture, and turned into a swampy prairie, where they lived for two winters in tents.

(c.) Did not Mr. Kemble, Indian Inspector, in January, 1877, get the consent, or claim to have gotten it, of the Poncas to this removal?

He claims to have obtained it; but the evidence is overwhelming that he did not, and that all he obtained was consent that some of their chiefs should go to the Indian Territory to see whether they liked the land; and this consent was obtained only on condition that if they did not like it they would be brought back, which condition was cruelly violated.

(d.) Had not the removal of the Poncas already been begun in accordance with this law of Congress when Mr. Schurz received his portfolio?

No, it had not. Not a Ponca had left the reservation except the chiefs who had been taken to the Indian Territory to see the country, and who were then making their way back, sick, hungry and barefooted, without guides, through a strange country, to their old homes.

Our correspondent will see, therefore, that his hypothesis as to the facts must be essentially corrected, and, perhaps, he can begin to see why we say that the removal was "in violation of law," and that Mr. Schurz was "solely responsible" for it. But there are other facts of which our correspondent has taken no account, that help force upon us this conclusion. The following are some of them:

(a.) Agent Kemble, himself, in his communications to the Department after Mr. Schurz came into office, shows a condition of things that plainly indicated the unwillingness of the Indians to go to the Indian Territory.

(b.) The Indians themselves sent word that they did not want to go.

(c.) Many of the most respectable citizens of the neighborhood, private citizens, persons holding official positions, clergymen and missionaries, all well acquainted with these Indians, informed the Indian Commissioner and Secretary Schurz that the Indians had not consented to go.

(d.) The Indians sent their own attorney to Washington to inform the Secretary that the representation that they had consented to go was false, and the character and trustworthiness of this attorney was vouched for to the Secretary by both of the Senators from Nebraska, who also told the Secretary that they had good reason for believing the Indians had not consented, and that their removal under the circumstances would be a great wrong.

(e.) Agent Kemble himself came to Washington, and arranged to obtain the assistance of the army to aid him in compelling the start. A people who consent to exile themselves do not need to be forced away from their homes at the point of the bayonet.

(f.) The order to "press the removal" was given April 12th, more than a month after Secretary Schurz took office. The first party, the half-breeds, whose chief knew too well the futility of resistance to the army, started April 15th. The last party started May 16th, two and a half months after Secretary Schurz came into office.

(g.) The army was employed, by request of the Secretary of the Interior, to force them from their homes, and they could not have been got to go otherwise. And this was done when the law provided that they were not to be removed at all without their consent, and left it discretionary with the Secretary to remove them if they consented.

Therefore, we say that it was done in violation of law, and that Secretary Schurz was alone responsible.

The next series of inquiries proposed by our correspondent attacks our statement that "there was persistent resistance of every project to right the wrong by restoring the Indians to their own." All of his questions but one, which he confesses to be irrelevant, may be summarized without unfairness:—Did not Mr. Schurz first discover that wrongs had been done, and inform the country of it, and repeatedly propose that the Indians be compensated for their losses and made comfortable where they are?

Mr. Schurz has repeatedly said in his reports that the removal of these Indians, without compensation for their lands, and without making suitable provision for them in their new home, was a wrong, and has urged Congress to do something for them. Nobody denies that; but it is also true that he has never acknowledged their right to return to their old homes, which was what they desired to do until they came to the conclusion, after nearly four years of fruitless effort, that the hope was vain. All his acknowledgments of wrong done, until long after the people of the country became deeply interested in the case, implied that Congress was responsible for it. All the redress he has ever proposed was such redress as no official would presume to insist upon to the exclusion of the just and natural redress,—restoration to their own,—in respect of a community of white men who had been so treated. Indeed, any official who had so abused the rights of white men, exercising a conditional discretion vested in him by the law in defiance of the condition (if such wantonness is supposable), would have been removed or impeached at once. Mr. Dawes may have come to a knowledge of the facts sooner or later, by one means or another; but it is to his credit that when he did know them he demanded justice for the wronged. Whoever may have a right to criticize him for dilatoriness, certainly those who oppose his demand have not the right.

When our correspondent asks upon what ground we charge Mr. Schurz "with persistent resistance of every project to right the wrong," we reply that we have not made

such a charge. We know well enough that he has favored some projects, but he has never favored any project to right the wrong by restoring these Indians to their own, which is what justice demanded.

When he asks, "Isn't it simply a question as to what policy is best under the circumstances as they now are?" we reply, that depends upon what he means by "best." If he means cheapest or least troublesome, we say no. If he means most in accordance with justice and humanity, and duty to the weak, we say yes; and saying yes to that, we say, with President Hayes, "ample opportunity should be given members of the tribe freely to choose their allotments, either on the old or the new reservation." But this is precisely what Secretary Schurz persistently opposed to the end, and by his active exertions has prevented.

If our correspondent, being guilty of no crime, had been forcibly driven from his home and confined in the Dry Tortugas, in violation of law, would he exculpate the official who, on his own responsibility, ordered it done, if he had reported to Congress that it was a wrong to send him down there without compensating him for the property he was compelled to abandon? And if, after exhausting every known means of obtaining liberty to return, he had in despair said to the Government "I accept my fate; give me something for that I have lost, and I will make a new home here," would he have appreciated the mercy of that official's proclamation to the country that his conduct was vindicated—that his victim was satisfied in his present state? Of course he would not. But our correspondent is not an Indian without remedy in the courts, and subject to the arbitrary will of the officials of a people who can scarcely be moved to care whether he is treated justly or not.

We have replied so much at length, because we take our correspondent to be a type of thousands who seek to know the truth, but whose judgment is clouded by half-knowledge of the facts in this case, and who do not want to think that Secretary Schurz can be in the wrong.

### FINANCE.

NEW YORK, March 16, 1881.

IT is rather a gratuitous task to write about such a stock speculation as we have had on Wall Street during the past week. There has been almost a complete withdrawal of the element of the "outside" public; the large operators have not appeared in any great movements, and the daily tradings have fallen almost entirely into the hands of the small operators and brokers. The total transactions for the week were 40 to 50 per cent. less than the weekly records which were made a month or so ago, and many of the fluctuations represent merely the operations of special or petty "pools." The course of the speculation was very irregular, the first few days witnessing a considerable advance, and the last few a general and quiet wasting away of quotations. Final prices were irregular in the matter of change from last week, with the coal stocks 1 to over 2 per cent. lower, the Grangers up about 2 per cent., the Southwestern list 1 to 3 per cent. higher, Western Union down  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , and the majority of the list without important alterations, one way or the other. The business that was done was very poorly distributed.

There is nothing unnatural in the condition of the market or in the apathy of that portion of the public that is usually sucked into the vortex of any reasonably healthy stock speculation. Since the beginning of the year, and especially since the demise of the refunding question as an immediate issue, there has been a forced maintenance of high prices. It was natural that when the prospect existed that some intelligent arrangement for the refunding of the maturing Government bonds of 1881 on a low basis of interest would be made, and when the wonderful earnings of the railroads were rehabilitating their finances, or further improving them, that investors should turn to good dividend-paying stocks and bonds as an escape from the necessity of receiving  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 per cent. for their moneys, if left in or put into Government securities. It would have been natural if, when prices had climbed to such a height that investors were turned from buyers into sellers, and when the severity of an unusual winter was beginning to check and to damage the former handsome railroad revenues, there should have been a decided reaction in Wall Street speculation. But, fortunately or unfortunately, as may be preferred, when the investing public had sold out, the speculative public and many large professional operators were left with stocks on their hands. Since that time, the market has been a desperate game of men trying to "get out" without pulling down their own houses on their heads. To-day's lull in speculation may be only the precursor of an immediate renewed "bull" orgie, but it looks like the exhaustion which has overtaken one now past.

There has been no financial or business cataclysm that halted extravagant speculation, and the weakness of the stock markets, and what seems to be the seeds of further weakness which it contains, bode no ill, except to the purses of promiscuous speculators. It is the high range of prices which makes a sustained "bull" movement improbable *per se*. What inducement is there for the casual operator to buy stocks—excepting special ones, which are likely to increase intrinsically in value—when in place of unparalleled railroad earnings last autumn, to-day losses are shown, or the basis of last year (when prices were far lower than they are at present,) is only maintained; when, in place of ease then, the money market is firm now, and when, in place of the probable undertaking of Government refunding at that time, we have the whole matter to-day—thanks to the blundering or criminality of a Democratic Congress—unsettled and uncertain? The stock market to-day would probably be much lower were it not for the fact that the long continuance of high prices has in a sort of way deadened the sense of general speculators as to the danger involved in them.

Railroad bonds have been as dull as stocks, and prices were extremely irregular. There is little investment business doing in this class of securities, and the speculative

element is affected by the same causes which have unsettled the stock market and caused a falling off in the trading. State bonds have been dull outside of the Tennessee issues, which were stimulated by the introduction of a new proposition for settling the State debt. This proposition is strongly supported by the bondholders themselves; it has been recommended for adoption by the Governor of Tennessee, and the lower branch of the Legislature of that State has ordered to a third reading a bill embodying its features. The plan is, briefly, to refund the old 6 per cent. bonds, with their accrued interest (now amounting to about 30 per cent.), in new 3 per cent. 99-year bonds at par. Taking into consideration the back interest, this scheme, if it is accepted by the Legislature, would give the bondholders a security that would be equivalent to about a new 4 per cent. bond for par.

Government bonds have been moderately active, opening weak but closing firm, with the 5 per cent. bonds of 1881 especially strong. Among dealers outside of the Stock Exchange, a large business is reported from National Banks that intend to take out new circulations. The strength of the 5s, no doubt, is due to the idea, which the First National Bank of this city is industriously disseminating, that the Government will let them live until the next session of Congress, taking up the maturing 6s by the issue of about \$104,000,000 in 4 per cent. bonds, which Secretary Sherman, in his last annual report, claimed to have the authority still to issue under the original authorizing act, and using the surplus revenues of the Government for the remaining months of the fiscal year, and anticipating part of the surplus revenues for the next year.

The weekly statement of the New York Clearing House, which was issued last Saturday, taken in connection with the extraordinary movements of the Sub-Treasury, indicates the movement of funds to the interior, a change in the current of the currency that has been known to exist for more than a week past, and which was expected to take place at this time. If the figures furnished give a correct indication of anything, they show that these shipments consisted principally of coin; but why coin should be forwarded is not so clear, as the expense of shipment is necessarily greater. The Sub-Treasury received from the Philadelphia Mint during the week \$3,500,000, and it paid out for bonds purchased, \$5,000,000, but as the latter transaction occurred during the latter part of the week, and as the bank statement shows only the averages for the week, the full effect of the purchases made may be expected to appear more prominently in the statement to be issued next Saturday. The receipts of gold during the same week from Europe, amounted to a little over \$1,500,000, and \$600,000 have since arrived, while the total amount in transit is about \$2,000,000. The banks last week further reduced their deposits over \$2,770,000, and their loans \$2,230,000. The gain of \$974,000 in specie is nearly offset by a loss of \$822,000 in legal tenders. There was a slight gain in circulation, but on Monday the Metropolitan Bank deposited with the Treasurer of the United States \$1,000,000 to secure \$900,000 circulation. As the Treasury happened to have on hand the printed notes, the bank was able to secure its circulation without the customary delay. Believing that there will be no extra session of Congress, other banks are also making application for new circulation and are depositing as security in most cases the 5 per cents., which, among the low price bonds, will probably have the longest time to run.

Late Friday evening of last week, Mr. French, who was acting Secretary of the Treasury for the day, announced, in the shape of a letter to a Western bank, the decision of the Department respecting the application of a number of banks to withdraw their legal tenders, deposited at the time of the threatened adverse legislation by the last Congress, and to deposit bonds again to secure the outstanding notes. The Department decided that where the bonds had been returned to the banks, the applications could not be granted. One of the most important features of Mr. French's letter, however, was the statement that "no apprehension of unfavorable results need be entertained in this matter." Since the 25th ultimo, the Department has paid out for bonds purchased about \$6,500,000, and is to-day paying out on like account an additional amount of \$5,000,000. In addition to this payment, there has been advanced from the Treasury, since the 1st instant, to meet the payment of arrearages of pensions, the sum of \$7,583,344, and on the 1st proximo there will fall due of interest more than \$7,000,000. This statement has been accepted as an assurance from the new Administration that such measures will be adopted from time to time as may be necessary to relieve any stringency in the money market, and its effect has, therefore, been reassuring to those persons who were standing in the fear of exorbitant rates of interest. The all-important question now is,—What course will the Secretary of the Treasury adopt to prevent, if necessary, the "unfavorable results" referred to? By a liberal construction of an act of the last Congress, he is authorized to expend as much as \$50,000,000, now held by the Treasury, in the purchase of bonds. There are also over \$100,000,000 of the 4 per cents. yet remaining unsold, which might be disposed of at present at a handsome premium; but, in view of the recent action of Congress in passing a bill fixing the rate of interest on the new bonds at only 3 per cent., it is thought that the Secretary will hesitate to sell any more long-time bonds bearing as much as 4 per cent. interest, unless in case of an emergency. Inasmuch, however, as the premium realized might be used in redeeming the 5s and 6s, thus further reducing the national debt, prominent and conservative financiers can see no objection to such a course. The published announcement of a settled line of policy, whenever an opportunity offers to make it, will have a very decided effect upon the money market.

There are reasons to believe the outflow of currency to the interior, for April settlements, will not be as large as in former years, nor as some persons have anticipated. The West has been during the past two years very abundantly supplied with funds; in fact, Western farmers have grown rich on a repetition of abundant crops and continuation of good prices. For the past eighteen months, it has been noticeable that the periodical flow of currency to the West was not followed by a return in such quantities



as was expected, or as had been the previous custom. It is not improbable that this condition of affairs will be repeated this spring.

The annual meeting of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, which was held on Monday, was tame, because Mr. Gowen refused to attend the meeting, and also advised his friends not to be present. The result was, of course, the election of the McCalmont ticket; but it still remains for the Court to decide as to the legality of the election and the amount of stock that was legally voted. Fearing the result would be disastrous to him, Mr. Gowen adopted the only expedient that was left, by refusing to be present, or to vote at the meeting, which had been postponed for the sole purpose of giving him time to return from Europe and vote the proxies which he obtained while

abroad. There is no doubt that during the past few weeks the strength of Reading stock has been due to the large purchases for the account of Mr. Gowen and his friends. Since the election, little interest has been taken in the affairs of the Company, and the stock has become inactive again. Following the purchase by the Pennsylvania Railroad of a controlling interest in the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Company, the stock of the former Company became unusually active and strong, selling as high last week as 67 3/8, the highest price it has ever reached. The other active stocks in the Philadelphia Board were the Northern Pacific, Lehigh Valley and Lehigh Navigation, Buffalo, Pittsburg and Western, and Philadelphia and Erie; but the market has been dull and extremely uninteresting for several days past.

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